Not Dead Things

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Not Dead Things

The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and
Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820

Edited by

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BRILL

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PREFACE

This volume was born as the life of another undertaking came to an end. This was the Dutch VIDI project, funded by the Dutch Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO) and led by Jeroen Salman, 'The pedlar and the dissemination of the printed word (1600–1850)'. The project concluded with a conference, organised by Karen Bowen, Roeland Harms and Jeroen Salman, entitled 'Pedlars, pamphlets and the popular press (1600–1850)', sponsored by the Research Institute of History and Culture (OGC) of the University of Utrecht and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), and held at the University of Utrecht in January 2010. Many of the chapters in this volume were papers presented at the conference. Harms and Salman invited Raymond to collaborate in a volume of essays; through ongoing conversations in Utrecht and London, the editors developed a larger vision of itinerant and irregular book distribution in Europe, and the project changed shape. Realising the advantages of a comparative, transnational and interconnected history spread across the Low Countries, England and Wales, and Italy—advantages explained in the introduction—they solicited additional contributions, and collaboratively wrote the following introduction, in which they offer proposals for the future of book history. The editors would like to thank Andrew Pettegree and Noah Moxham for their assistance, and the contributors and conference delegates for ongoing conversations.

18 February 2013

INTRODUCTION: THE DISTRIBUTION AND DISSEMINATION OF POPULAR PRINT

Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman

Books were not absolutely dead things. They preserved a potency of life; they were, as the English pamphleteer John Milton wrote, 'the pre-tious life-blood of a master spirit'.[1] They let men and women speak from beyond the grave. They empowered authors to speak to listeners out of the range of the human voice. They spoke in the marketplace, but also in quiet, private corners. Yet the life-beyond-life that they lived relied not only on the power of the word and the literacy of communities of readers. It relied on animation, on movement. Books travelled, and through travel-ling along the networks of circulation they acquired their potency. The history of books, and especially the history of books in early-modern Europe, is among other things the history of the distribution of actual, material books. Yet, as this introduction and this volume endeavour to demonstrate, the mobility of books extends far beyond mere physical circulation.

Dissemination versus Distribution: A Cultural Approach

Much of the most insightful research on the early-modern book trade has been analytical, enumerative and empirical.[2] The insights of material bib-liography have been extended through the social and cultural analysis of the new bibliography, or the social history of texts. The sheer variety of tools and approaches offered by this combination of methodologies— the old and new bibliography, supplemented by recent cultural and material history—is exhilarating. Our understanding of the book trade, of

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[1] J. Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644), sig. A3v.
[2] For a synthesis of this research, emphasising the logistics of production and the com-mercial underpinnings of the book trade across Europe, see A. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven & London, 2010).

the nature of textuality, of the embedded meanings of texts, of the social life of books, and the social power of the word in its various material manifestations, has both extended and developed more nuance.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the history of reading. The analysis of actual readers and actual reading practices—as opposed to the ideal, implied, or inferred readers that characterised literary interpretation from the New Criticism through phenomenology and hermeneutics to reader-response theory—provided substantial new insights into what readers did with texts and how they understood them.[3] This in turn enriched our understanding of the nature of authorship and therefore of the book trade. Readers ceased to be the passive realisers of the messages embedded in texts, and became poachers, appropriators, creators. No longer (or at least not so often) the subject of over-confident conjectures about who read what, they became the object of analyses that were rooted in the actual evidence of inventories, manuscript diaries and correspondence, ownership inscriptions and marginalia. The actual audience, the nature and practices of that audience, became integral to understanding the performativity of texts, the way texts worked and why they were made the way they were.

And so it is that the distribution of texts became a historically important issue. In the influential model of the 'communications circuit' outlined by the book historian Robert Darnton, booksellers and printers produce books that are distributed into the hands of readers, whose purchasing choices and responses feed back into the decisions of publishers. Hence in this cybernetic system, shippers and booksellers—comprehending agents, smugglers, entrepôt keepers, waggoners, etc. and wholesalers, retailers, pedlars, binders, etc. respectively—fill the vacancy between printers and readers.[4] However, this risks making the exchanges between stationers, distributors and readers seem largely mechanical, discrete

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[3] Especially, but not exclusively, J. Raven, H. Small & N. Tadmor, eds., *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996); K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven & London, 2000); K. Sharpe & S.N. Zwicker, eds., *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003); D. Finkelstein & A. McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader* (2002; London, 2006).

[4] R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', *Daedalus* (summer 1982), 63–83; also *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (1996), 182–3 and *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, 1990), ch. 7; and P.W.M. Blayney, 'The publication of playbooks', in J.D. Cox & D.S. Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York, 1997), 383–422.

elements in a system, rather than as agents in a culturally complex, messy, non-systematised world; we risk overlooking the means through which culture inflects distribution. If the book trade is to be understood as a series of dynamic processes (as distinct from a structure or a system), in which the various elements shape the identity and influence the actions of other elements, the detailed understanding of how and where books move must inform accounts of who read what, where and why, of production and reception. Distribution not only reveals the identity and location of readers, but also shapes and determines the economics of production. As meaning is not an ideal entombed in a text, but a living reality of a book engaged in particular relationships, it might even be claimed that distribution shaped the meaning of books and should shape our thinking about textual interpretation.

The processes of distribution are not unidirectional. If we are to understand the circuits of communication, and thereby offer the fullest account of the social and cultural history of books, it is essential that we reconstruct the actual networks across which books moved from the publisher or printer's shop, to a bookseller's shop, or to a port, to a carrier, or to a wholesaler or Mercury woman and thence to a pedlar, and finally to the point of sale to a reader. Even this generalisation is insufficient: some books, particularly illicit books, such as Covenanting propaganda in Scotland and England in 1638, or Quaker pamphlets in the Restoration or Remonstrant pamphlets during the Dutch Twelve Years Truce (1609–21), were carried along a road in a cloak bag, and distributed free at their destination. Such networks do not have the neat symmetry of a closed circuit, but are shaped like expansive trees. And much printing did not fit the commercial pattern of the printed book, but included jobbing printing—royal or mayoral proclamations, for example, instructions for apprentices, legal forms and oaths, and also educational prints that were disseminated in schools as a reward for children (see the chapter by Jo Thijssen) or New Years' prints that were distributed by newsvendors in exchange for an annual gratuity. Quaker printing sat somewhere between these modes of distribution, as it was commissioned from commercial printers, but, as Kate Peters' chapter below demonstrates, distributed exclusively by the movement without the assistance of commercial means. Non-commercial items also needed to be transported from press to the hands or ears of those whom they addressed. And non-verbal printing—wallpapers, drawer liners, playing cards, decorative wrappings and linings for boxes, printed linen for embroidery, some of which doubtless found its way into

pedlars' packs—required additional and varied means of transportation and marketing.[5]

Recovering these routes to the consumer is an enormous task in itself. However, if the distribution of books shapes their meaning in a circuit of communication, do we also need to consider the ways in which the methods of distributing books were shaped and informed by the meanings of these books? Put differently: does the understanding of the practical distribution of books need to be inflected by an understanding of the cultural significance of that distribution? Such is the collective argument of the essays in this volume: that distribution was not merely a mechanical phenomenon but also a process laden with meanings that were experienced by the movers and recipients of books. These meanings and these experiences were not incidental to the distribution networks but fully a part of them, defining and mutating their contours.

This can be illuminated by a few brief, contrasting examples. The first, familiar one is the European Republic of Letters. This elite, scholarly network provided a socially- and intellectually-selective distribution network for manuscripts and printed books. Correspondence, scholarly and sociable, provided a framework for the composition and revision of texts. It furnished expectations and standards of reception that then re-inhabited writing. The transnational nature of the network necessitated that the language of exchange be Latin, though there was scope for quotation and allusion in other languages. A book that had been subject to epistolary exchange could then be printed with evidence of these transactions, such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1616), published with letters that delineate More's circle of friends but also the values with which the work is to be read and understood. By this means a scholarly dialogue could expand its audience, and find a less socially and educationally elite readership, especially when the work was translated, and then echoed and imitated in polemic and journalism. Books are not dead things, and one respect

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[5] On jobbing printing, see M. Jenner, 'London', in J. Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), 294–307; P. Stallybrass, '"Little Jobs": broadsides and the printing revolution', in S. Alcorn Baron, E.N. Lindquist & E.F. Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, MA, 2007), 315–41; specifically on proclamations, see Graham Rees & Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford, 2009), 140–51 and *passim* on official printing; on non-verbal materials, see M. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven & London, 2010), G. Saunders, '"Paper Tapestry" and "Wooden Pictures": printed decoration in the domestic interior before 1700', in M. Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2010), 317–35.

in which they are alive is through their porousness to the messages, which shape not only the material text but also the recipient distribution networks.

In one of the noisiest rhetorical spats of 1650s Europe, Peter Du Moulin, animadverting with Milton's *Pro populi Anglicano defensio* (1651), prefaced his *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum adversus parricidas Anglicanos* (1652) with a letter by the printer Adrian Vlacq; Milton responded with *Pro populo Anglicano defensio secunda* (1654), a work that spoke for itself without any marks of patronage or friendship, and Alexander More replied in turn with *Fides publica, contra calumnies Ioannis Miltoni* (1654). More's book was prefaced by letters by Vlacq and George Crantz, and concluded with an epistle by John Diodati, offering a testimonial to More. Printers in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere reprinted both books using false 'Londini' imprints. While Milton's defences of the 1649 regicide, though officially sponsored, did not seek to justify their arguments through community, his respondents created the impression of a European network of scholars ranged against him. This reflected the actual circumstances: many academics at European universities took exception to Milton's pugilistic and occasionally self-promoting rhetoric, and some to his politics. But this projection of a community also furnished a moral weight to the arguments. Though Milton's treatises were written to justify the actions of the English government in a European context, they were shaped by the networks of scholars that constituted the familiar Republic of Letters.[6] The network is inscribed not only in the material copies of the books that survive, but also within the very arguments that the texts articulate. This was a profoundly asymmetrical engagement, with different models of community projected at each end, but between them those engaged constructed a genuinely—validly and thoroughly—Anglo-Dutch community.

Another example of the cultural meanings inhabiting distribution networks lies in the heterogeneity of news communication in Britain in the 1620s. When occasional news pamphlets, translated from Dutch and German, appeared in London in 1618, they were published in the same format as indigenous news publications, and distributed by the same

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[6] D. Wootton, 'Friendship portrayed: a new account of Utopia', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), 29–48. On the controversy over Milton's defences, see J. Raymond's forthcoming edition in *The Complete Works of John Milton*, gen. eds. T.N. Corns & G. Campbell, vol. 7 (Oxford, 2014), and *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols., general ed. D.M. Wolfe (New Haven & London, 1953–82), vol. 4. For a useful analysis of the Republic of Letters and its relationship to book movements—one that bears on analyses of Milton—see N. Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford, 2002), 457–545.

means. Late in 1620 Amsterdam publishers began to produce English translations of Dutch newssheets, or 'corantos', in single-sheet format, for distribution in the British market, and London publishers (who formed a syndicate for this purpose) then followed them. These broadsheets were quickly returned to quarto format, with which printers and readers were more comfortable.[7] These publications had already travelled across a complex and transnational communications network. The news was gathered from diverse sources from Europe and beyond—merchants and military men and postmasters—in the form of newsletters, some personal, others semi-formal, which were then collated into a single text by an editor. They were printed and then distributed by booksellers and itinerant vendors. Some copies travelled as far as London, one of which was translated (and some of the news content may already have undergone an earlier process of translation) and printed again, before being re-distributed around London, to the provinces, and perhaps back overseas. This is already a long series of transitions and translations, but more were to come as readers adapted the form to their own purposes.

Heterogeneous uses can be found in the single example of Joseph Meade (1586–1639), a Cambridge don, who supplied a more or less weekly newsletter to several recipients as part of a patron-client relationship. Meade found ways of using printed items to supplement his own writings. Prior to the advent of corantos Meade wrote up the foreign news he had received by diverse letters in a style that anticipated later printed news (with minimal editorial content, and clear signals of origins). In order to provide a service for several recipients that was both efficient and personalised he devised a system of writing and copying one newsletter that was in effect a manuscript separate, containing mostly foreign news, plus writing one more personalised letter, addressed to an individual, that contained more of a mix of domestic and foreign news, presumably selected with a view to the interests of the recipient.

When corantos appeared he would send these too, to save labour. The manuscript news and the printed news he supplied were necessarily complementary, because little domestic news, especially involving what we would call politics, was printed, though it could be, with some caution,

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[7] This is the argument of J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 130–2; for other narratives, which see a more linear evolution, see S. Lambert, 'Coranto printing in England: the first newsbooks', *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 8–1 (1992), 3–19; F. Dahl, 'Amsterdam – Earliest newspaper centre of western Europe: new contributions to the history of the first Dutch and French corantos', *Het boek* dl. 25.4 (1938–39), 161–197. See also n. 13, below.

circulated in written form. Gradually corantos seem to have edged out the manuscript separates, though apologetically: 'I haue no more newes to send you at this present then what I enclose & you shall find in the book I send.'[8] However, the traffic was not unidirectional. Some newsletters included transcriptions 'Out of a printed Corrante.'[9] Moreover Meade would sometimes annotate the printed corantos he sent in order to clarify their significance. In September 1621, as Meade reported, the coranto publisher Thomas Archer was imprisoned 'for making or adding to Corrantoes', and was replaced by 'another who hath gott license to print them & sell them honestly translated out of Dutch'.[10]

   The implication is that anything other than a literal translation of the Dutch original was regarded with suspicion. However, Dutch corantos were written for an audience with a significantly different cultural geographical context, and the texts lost and gained things in the translation. Translation was fundamental to news networks, and to the commercial underpinnings of the book trade; the government at Westminster's intervention indicates a nervousness about the ungovernability of translated texts, though it was not based on extensive reflection on what constituted a literal translation, a topic remarkably overlooked during the period.[11] Unlike Archer, Meade was able to amend the text in order to clarify matters for the reader, inserting corrections and glosses. Finding the phrase 'The Turkes day at Regensburg [...]', Meade replaced 'Turkes day' with 'Reicks day', and added a marginal gloss: 'so they call the day of the Imperiall Diet.' Other marginal notes indicated that 'Dansich' was in Prussia, and 'Siebenberghen' in Transylvania.[12] While Meade was no common pedlar of news, the multi-directional traffic—in terms of geography, languages, and material form—of news into and from his hands suggests the complex nature of distribution, and some of the limitations of viewing it as a link in a circuit of communication. The reality was, in a word, too messy.[13]

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[8] This discussion of Meade is based on his letters to Sir Martin Stuteville, British Library, Harl. MS 389; the quotation, dated 8 March 1622/3, can be found at f. 294r.

[9] British Library, Harl. MS 389, ff. 72–3 (11 May 1621), see also 74.

[10] British Library, Harl. MS 389, f. 122r.

[11] The role of translation in cheap print and news networks merits greater study. For a useful catalogue, see <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php>.

[12] British Library, Harl. MS 389, ff. 79, 82; *Corante* (Amsterdam, 25 June 1621); *Courant* (Amsterdam, 25 May 1621); *Corante* (Amsterdam, 3 July 1621).

[13] On corantos, see especially F. Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618–1650: A Bibliography* (The Hague, 1946), and *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620–1642*

A final cluster of examples: in 1675 a party of Drapers, Merchants, Haberdashers and Hosiers petitioned Parliament against Pedlars, Hawkers and Petty-Chapmen, for the threat they offered to what the former group saw as honest, above-board trade. The Drapers and allies alleged that there were 18000 pedlars in the country, destroying the welfare of honest shop-keepers, and not paying taxes; the pedlars responded that they paid taxes, and it was lack of industry and frugality that troubled shopkeepers. The pedlars referred back to a proclamation of James VI and I in 1618, in which the king had licensed some pedlars in order to distinguish them from the abundant rogues and vagabonds. They wrote, with some exaggeration, that James had proclaimed:

> That the Calling of Pedlars and Petti-Chapmen was an Ancient calling, and had in all times been used as well for the benefit and ease of his People, especially those that dwell remote from Market-Towns, who might hereby furnish their Necessities with small Wares and Commodities at their own Doors, and save their pains and travel in going to Markets and Fairs, and attend their Day-labours and Vocations [...][14]

The same debate continuously rattled on through the century in England. In 1614 the preacher Thomas Adams had lamented: 'for as it is in Faires, the Pedler, and the Ballat-monger haue more throng, then the rich Merchant: Vanitie hath as many customers as shee can turne to'.[15] In the 1690s the Drapers and Mercers reiterated their complaints, and the controversy extended into the early 18th century.[16]

(London, 1952); J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961); M.C. Frearson, 'The English corantos of the 1620s', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1993); N. Brownlees, *Corantos and Newsbooks: Language and Discourse in the First English Newspapers (1620–1641)* (Pisa, 1999), and Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011). On Meade, see D. Randall, 'Joseph Mead, novellante: news, sociability and credibility in early Stuart England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), 293–312.

[14] *An Answer to the pretended reasons of some drapers, mercers, haberdashers, grocers, and hosiers, &c* (London, 1675), brs. Cf. *By His Maiesties officers for licencing of pedlers and petty-chapmen* (London, 1618). This *Answer* seems to be replying to *Reasons humbly offered to the consideration of the high court of Parliament*, though this is dated 1691 in Wing.

[15] T. Adams, *The deuills banket described in foure sermons* (London, 1614), 2–3.

[16] *Reasons humbly offered to the consideration of the high court of Parliament by the drapers, mercers* (London, 1691); *The pedlars case stated; or, some remarks upon the pedlars* (London, 1691?); *The Statute-laws perused and revived, or, A Remedy against pedlers, hawkers, and petty chapmen &c.* (London, 1693); and others from the 1690s; *Further reasons for suppressing all pedlars and hawkers, humbly offered to the consideration of Parliament. In behalf of the shopkeepers of the cities* (London, 1706?). The index in D.F. McKenzie & M. Bell, eds., *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641–1700*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2005), suggests that these concerns were at their peak in the 1690s.

Similar commercially motivated complaints against pedlars can be found in the Dutch Republic during the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1678 representatives of the Amsterdam booksellers guild sent a request to the local authorities pressing them to take action against a 'large crowd of older and younger people, who are too lazy to work and therefore resort to hawking books, newspapers and libels on the streets.' Because of this unfair competition 'respectable booksellers' were no longer able to pay their rents and taxes. They warned the burgomasters that the books these pedlars distributed were seditious, scandalous and full of lies.[17] In 1770, the booksellers of Amsterdam pointed to the local pedlars and street vendors when they were charged with the dissemination of 'blasphemous books and writings' by the States General. It was the pedlar who allegedly bought such books in 'foreign countries' and hawked them in all sorts of obscure places in town. A non-sedentary pedlar could circumvent the edict much more easily than the respectable bookseller.[18]

In these debates, the image of the pedlar was a powerful, highly charged one.[19] The ever socially conservative John Taylor (a waterman turned poet and social commentator), even associated pedlars, along with other common trades, with radical religion. His point is a double one: pedlars are among those who are inappropriately assuming the right to speak out about religion (and their opinions would necessarily be sectarian, because they are socially unqualified to undertake theology), and pedlars are among the lowest of mechanicals (lower than a waterman). It is an image of the world turned upside-down: 'A Clowne to sway a Scepter is too base, / And Princes to turne Pedlers were disgrace'.[20] Yet Taylor's pamphlet would have received some of its distribution by itinerant means. In Italy too, through the 16th century, as Rosa Salzberg's chapter shows, the spreading of print by itinerant pedlars became associated with reformed religion; both city authorities and the church sought to control not only the production of print but also this troubling—because mobile and

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[17] P.J. Verkruijsse, 'De verspreiding van populaire literatuur', in M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen (hoofdredactie), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen, 1993), 292–297.

[18] *Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken* [...] part 5 (1770), 798, 806, 842.

[19] See for the Netherlands: J. Salman, 'Between reality and representation: the image of the pedlar in the 18th century Dutch Republic', in M. van Delft, F. de Glas, J. Salman, eds., *New Perspectives in Book History. Contributions from the Low Countries* (Zutphen, 2006), 189–202; K.L. Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's view of pedlars with texts: a consideration of images of pedlars in the Netherlands (1600–1850)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 15 (2008), 93–108.

[20] *A swarme of sectaries, and schismatiques* (London, 1641), 3.

evasive—means of distribution. Pedlars were recognized as a viable means of distributing print at the same time as buyers and sellers worried that they could serve seditious purposes.[21] This ambivalence indicated how culturally fraught the pedlar was, associated with poorer purchasers, and hence commercial gullibility, yet selling the same wares as wealthier, geographically stable traders. In Britain, the Netherlands and Italy, pedlars were a general image of disruption, a scapegoat for the undisciplined and ultimately uncontrollable consequences of print. Their role as disseminators of print cannot be separated from the social and cultural meanings, and these two aspects need to be understood together.

Distribution in a Broader Context

What we have proposed could be described as a shift from *distribution* to *dissemination*. The study of book movement currently occupies a box labelled 'distribution', and we are offering one way of removing it from that box, and inviting ways of considering the *meaning* of distribution, distribution not as the traces recovered by a forensic process, but as an actor's category: the dissemination of books and other printed wares as it seemed—as it was made—by those involved in the production, movement and reception of books. However to understand this in a more practical, less idealistic or theoretical mode, this proposal needs to be made concrete with some examples—connected examples that will permit a larger picture while grounded in the messiness of history. To this end, as this section suggests, *Not Dead Things* will focus on the distribution and dissemination of books in three areas of Europe, and in particular on the most irregular retailers of cheap print.

It is on account of their mostly negative, occasionally romanticized reputation, their culturally-charged meanings, and their very irregularity, that pedlars are central to the concerns of this book; our focus is on the irregular, unconventional movement of books, in order to create an accumulative account of local, national and international movement. This is not to deny the importance of logistics of distribution, roads, carriers and posts, waterways, the sea, but to confine our attention to some of the most unpredictable and least studied elements of the market.

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[21] In addition to the petitions cited above, see McKenzie & Bell, eds., *Chronology*, 1: 215, 450, and 98–9, 103–5, below.

As a starting point for understanding the book trade, and perhaps the identity of Europe more generally, we need to reconstruct the very practical means by which books moved around and between countries. Yet in seeking a broad view on distribution and dissemination of print in Europe, methodologically we cannot solely rely on the book-historical model of Robert Darnton, in which production, distribution and consumption are identified as discrete elements of a circuit of communication.[22] In this model, the distribution is seen as a purely logistical phenomenon, and, though this is not a fault of Darnton's own work, it can encourage the study of these components in isolation. Nor can we offer a full, pan-European or global account of under-researched distribution networks and their cultural life. Instead—more realistically—we offer examples of the complex logistics of the distribution of books, or kinds of books, from various countries and periods, all of which exemplify the characteristics of what we call dissemination, and all of which are fundamentally irregular and mobile. They provide the foundation for examining the book trade in a new light. We deal with the broader implications of the dissemination of print, including the consequences for the production, the political impact, the communicational aspects and the propagation of ideas. We seek to reintegrate this aspect of the trade into the complex cultural, material and social pathways of the whole. This is not a comprehensive or comparative analysis, nor an examination of the marginal or peripheral, but a study of the nature of that movement that occurs along pathways connecting centres. When we reconstruct distribution networks we cross national, linguistic and confessional borders.

We have focused on three countries: Italy, England (together with Wales, since 1534 an administrative unit), and the Netherlands. This is for several reasons associated with their similarities and differences. First, all three had censorship mechanisms that were constrained and limited in their effectiveness, and are hence suited to the examination of irregular distribution. The lack of political cohesion in Italy, the geographical limits on the power of the censor in the Netherlands (see below), the limited scope (and interest) of the Stationers' Company in England and Wales, all meant that there were fragmentary ideals of control, and practical limits on any efforts made in that direction. Secondly, all three were well-developed, commercial, market based societies with a high degree of free trade, and irregular trade was a significant element in the commercial

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[22] Darnton, 'What is the history of books?'

development of these countries. The semi-regulated trade of itinerant and irregular book distribution played a yet-to-be-assessed role in this development (pedlars increased alongside shops in the English retail business).[23] The three countries permit an accumulation of perspectives, based on the comparatively high level of urbanisation co-existing alongside well-developed book trades organised along very different lines. Fourthly, conditions in these countries are right for study: the nature of the evidence extant (and the degree of cataloguing) from all three permits experiments with questions about the irregular movement of books.

The distribution networks in and between Italy, England and Wales and the Dutch Republic, are studied from an iconographic, political, social, intellectual and book historical perspective. This necessitates the use of a wide range of sources, running from criminal records to licenses, from engravings to paintings and from pamphlets to plays. The essays study these European countries both discretely and through their interactions. Some look at the interaction between regular and irregular booktrade and between city and countryside, while others consider the dispersal and spread of production, and the extent and patterns of reading that followed distribution. By extending the range of research we hope to establish a more complete, more contoured insight into the dissemination of the printed word in Europe. *Not Dead Things* is in this context at the same time complementary to European studies on itinerant trade, such as those of Fontaine and of Chartier and Lüsebrink, but also tries to offer a new and broader perspective on book distribution.[24]

The extensive use of iconography necessitates some justification. Engravings and woodcuts and other prints are a useful source for itinerant distribution because they are plentiful and provocative. The reasons for this are varied: in Britain the plenty emerges from a romanticised view of the pedlar, chapman and ballad seller. In the Netherlands the interest in visual representation of pedlars ultimately lies in artistic choices (see the essays of Jeroen Salman and Karen Bowen). In Italy, images of street-vendors are a means of sketching society and social hierarchies more broadly. In all cases the visual material reveals aspects of the social structures of the respective countries, though only when it is levered open

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[23] J. de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer behaviour and the household economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge, 2008), 169.

[24] R. Chartier & H-J. Lüsebrink, eds., *Colportage et lecture populaire. Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1996); L. Fontaine, *Histoire du colportage en Europe, XVe-XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1993).

through a contextually sensitive, sceptical approach. In examining the representation of itinerant book distributors we seek to show how it fits our model of dissemination, but also examine how the representational modes (as opposed to the literal content) of these unreliable texts can be successfully interpreted. In addition, these images are not only embedded in the cultural memory of their countries: they are also, and importantly, themselves objects for distribution. They participate in the networks they represent, and, we argue, shape them too.

One of the aims of this volume is to explore the possibilities of a transactional, transnational approach to the popular press and distribution networks from the 17th until the 19th century. 'Popular' is a word that merits some glossing: we understand it here not to designate a particular group of inexpensive texts, but as a relationship between texts and readers, a developing demotic and influential relationship that enabled books to play a part in political processes, and enabled an expanding readership to be addressed, and variously participate, in print culture.[25] Although research on a national and regional scale is indispensable, an international, transactional and comparative analysis of European distribution systems and the dissemination of popular print can reveal unexpected similarities and connections. The three countries at the heart of this study have been studied by many scholars interested in distribution networks, the popular press and public opinion.[26] They have benefited from

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[25] Raymond, in *idem*, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), 4–7 and *passim*.

[26] See for example: R. Myers, M. Harris & G. Mandelbrote, eds., *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (London, 2007); J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004); Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*; D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, 2000); P. McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678–1730* (Oxford, 1998); D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637–1645* (London & New York, 1997); T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850* (Winchester, 1990); M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984); Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1981). For the Dutch Republic, see for example: J. Bloemendal & A. van Dixhoorn, eds., *The Sharpness of a Honed Tongue: Literature and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Leiden, 2011); F. Deen, D. Onnekink & M. Reinders, eds., *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden, 2011); J. Pollmann & A. Spicer, eds., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden & Boston, 2007); J. Salman, 'Peddling in the past. Dutch itinerant bookselling in a European perspective', *Publishing History* 53 (2003), 5–19. On Italy, M. Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della*

extensive individual analysis, but the intensive commercial and literary exchange between them offers the possibility of examining how distribution networks connected the three countries.[27]

The organization of the book trades in England and Wales, the Dutch Republic and Italy was markedly different. Whereas in rural England and Wales, printing was in the hands of the Stationers' Company and centralised in London, printing presses in the Dutch Republic and in Italy could be found in many cities, and a central legislating institution was absent.[28] In the Republic, as in England and Wales, it was officially prohibited to print anything scurrilous, but the lack of a centralised political body that could efficiently have resisted political print on a national scale resulted in a climate that was fairly tolerant in practice.[29] This in turn made it easier for itinerant salesmen to sell almanacs, pamphlets, songs, and other ephemera, within cities as well as in the rural areas.[30]

However, the legal and structural contrasts between England and the Dutch Republic were complicated by practice. The reach and resources of

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pubblica informazione (Venecia, 2005); R. Salzberg, 'In the mouth of charlatans: street performers and the dissemination of pamphlets in renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2010), 638–653. See also L. Fontaine, *Histoire du colportage en Europe, XVe-XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1993).

[27] L. Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London, 2008); H.J. Helmers, 'The royalist republic: literature, politics and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere, 1639–1660', PhD thesis (Leiden, 2011); P. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: a study of seventeenth-century elites* (Cambridge, 1994).

[28] For a general overview of the organisation of the English book trade and the Stationers' Company, see: M. Plant, *English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, third ed. (1939; London, 1974); F.S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls* (Illinois, 1952); C. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London, 1960). For the Dutch Republic, see: M.T.G.E. van Delft & C. de Wolf, eds., *Bibliopolis: History of the Printed Book in the Netherlands* (Zwolle, 2003).

[29] I.M. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1998), 66; G. de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad. De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek (1600–1750)* (Den Haag, 1991),. 224ff.; C. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987), *passim*; H.A. Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid: Een verhandeling over de verhouding van Kerk en Staat in de Repubiek der Verenigde Nederlanden en de vrijheid van meningsuiting in zake godsdienst, drukpers en onderwijs, gedurende de 17e eeuw* (Groningen, 1972), *passim*.

[30] About the itinerant book trade in the Dutch Republic, see: R. Harms, 'Handel in letteren: de ambulante handel in actueel drukwerk in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 23.2 (2007), 216–229; J. Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat. Actueel drukwerk in het vroegmoderne distributienetwerk', in M.M. Drees, J. de Kruif & J. Salman, eds., *Het lange leven van het pamflet. Boekhistorische, iconografische, literaire en politieke aspecten van pamfletten 1600–1900* (Hilversum, 2006), 56–67; Salman, 'Peddling in the past'; Salman, '"Vreemde loopers en kramers": de ambulante boekhandel in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 8 (2001), 73–97.

the Stationers' Company were limited, and itinerant book distributors were essential to the distribution of illicit books and pamphlets. Books could be printed overseas or surreptitiously in London and then distributed by imperfectly or un-supervised channels. Before the Civil War, puritan pamphlets were illegally produced and disseminated in England, and authors like Henry Burton, John Bastwick and William Prynne effectively evaded censorship mechanisms. During the civil wars, censorship collapsed and mercury men and women became essential for the distribution of the numerous, political periodicals that were suddenly produced, as shown in the chapter by Jason Peacey. Moreover, the remit of the Company did not extend to Scotland or Ireland, creating opportunities for creative trade between the two designed to circumvent official restrictions. Hence the apparent contrast between the two seems to have been complicated by practical realities.[31]

Not only because of the political and economic differences, but also because of the geographical variations between England and Wales and the Dutch Republic, one would expect divergences in print production and distribution. First, the Dutch Republic was exceptionally urbanised in comparison to the neighbouring countries, including England and Wales and Italy. Around 1675, the Republic counted 61 cities, 38 of which were in the province of Holland. A little over a century later, *c.* 60% of the inhabitants of this province lived in a city. Furthermore, the infrastructure connecting the cities in a relatively small area was well developed. Again in the province of Holland in particular, one could easily travel from one city to another in a couple of hours. Print could therefore be distributed quickly within the country. The most efficient way to travel was by means of canal boat or barge: several times a day boats departed to almost every town in Holland, but also to other parts of the Republic.[32] Printed and oral communication profited immensely from this advanced transport system: books printed in one city could easily be distributed in another city the same day. Secondly, the relatively high literacy level, especially in urban environments, was, as Houston argues, an additional boost for print production.[33] In England and Wales, literacy levels were highest in London,

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[31] C. Espejo, 'European communication networks in the early modern age', *Media History*, 17 (2011), 189–202; on the Stationers' Company, see 24–5, 236–7, and references cited there, below.

[32] J. de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy (1632–1839)* (Utrecht, 1981), 13–17.

[33] R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500–1800* (London & New York, 1988), 33. Literacy in the Republic as well as in England has been

though not only because this was (excluding some printing governed by royal patent) the sole centre of print production.

However, it is difficult directly to compare figures of book production between countries, since there are many variables we must take into account. On the one hand, considering the total number of inhabitants, one would expect England to have the largest market for publications. In 1651, the population of England stood at around 5.2 million, of whom about 400,000 people lived in London.[34] Around the same time, the Dutch Republic stood at around 1.8 million inhabitants, 175,000 of whom lived in Amsterdam.[35] However, literacy levels in the Dutch Republic around that time were much higher as a result of high levels of urbanization. As Houston rightly contends, 'urban living intensified the need for literate skills among all social groups'. It is estimated that around 1650, *c.* 70% of the men could read in the Dutch Republic, against *c.* 30% in England. For women, these rates are significantly lower: *c.* 50% in the Dutch Republic against *c.* 10% in England (though these figures are not arrived at by the same means). In the 18th century literacy rates in England increased more than in the Dutch Republic, and the disparity was reduced. In London in the 1750s, *c.* 90% of the men and 70% of the women were able to read, although in the rest of England these percentages remained appreciably lower.[36] For the Dutch Republic, it is estimated that around 1800 80% of all people were literate.

Interestingly, based on these figures, the total number of literate people in England and the Dutch Republic around 1650 must have been almost the same: around one million people. But how many texts were available around that time? This is difficult to estimate, since the total number of

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measured by counting signatures in marriage registers. A comparison of these measures reveals a relatively high literacy level in the Dutch Republic. S. Hart, *Geschrift en getal. Onderzoek naar de samenstelling van de bevolking van Amsterdam in de 17ᵉ en 18ᵉ eeuw, op grond van gegevens over migratie, huwelijk, beroep en alfabetisme* (Dordrecht, 1976), 130–32, 178–79; E. Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven. Onderzoek naar het alfabetiseringsniveau in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', in *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 23 (1997), 490–522. Besides, comments of contemporary foreigners have also stressed a relatively high literacy level. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture*, 59.

[34] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 89–91; D.F. McKenzie, 'The economies of print, 1550–1750: scales of production and conditions of constraint', *Producione e commercio della cara e del libro secc. XIII–XVIII, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini' Prato, serie II—Atti delle 'Settimane di Studi' e altri convegni, 23* (Prato, 1992), 389–425, and 'The London book trade in 1668', *Words*, 4 (1974), 75–92.

[35] J. de Vries and A. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*, derde druk (Amsterdam, 2005), 67–106.

[36] Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 140.

printed works probably differed markedly from year to year. For example, in 1642, the total number of works produced in England was much higher than in the Dutch Republic: about four million copies in 1642 in England against 633,000 copies in the Netherlands.[37] Thus, whereas in England there were four books for every literate English person, or four books for every five people in England, in the Dutch Republic there was only one copy for every two literate people, or one copy for every three Dutchmen.[38] At first glance, this huge disparity in production seems strange; however, 1642 was an exceptional year in England: in addition to, and in part because of, the outbreak of civil war, pamphlet production rose to enormous heights. Eight years later, in 1650—a year of political crisis in the Dutch Republic—the total number of Dutch works published was 963,000: almost one copy for every literate Dutchman, or one copy for every two inhabitants.[39] The number varies significantly: in times of political crisis the number of titles produced in both countries increased. However, this correlation was characteristic of the developing role of the press, the involvement of the printed word in politics and public opinion. It was only after 1618–19 that press productivity became an indicator of political crisis in the Dutch Republic; in England and Wales it was after 1641.[40] The implications of this correlation are further explored by Roeland Harms in his paper.

It is not feasible to make straightforward comparisons, at least illuminating ones, with Italy: this is because of the highly variable literacy rates, patterns of urbanisation, and the underdeveloped state of Italian bibliography. The population of Italy in 1550 was approximately 11,446,000. By 1600 this had grown to 13,111,000. Plague during the 1630s caused a decline to about 11,370,000 in 1650, before it revived to 13,190,000 by the end of the century—in other words, population was more or less stagnant

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[37] The figures for England are based on McKenzie, 'Economies of print'. The figures for the Dutch Republic are based on a count of the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands* (STCN), which contains 633 titles for the year 1642 (consulted in Sept. 2012). The average print run in both countries is estimated at one thousand copies. For the possibilities of quantitative research in the STCN, see: M. van Delft, 'Kwantitatief onderzoek op basis van de STCN: mogelijkheden en aandachtspunten', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), 63–80.

[38] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 89–91.

[39] STCN, consulted in September 2012. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* does not contain broadsides. Based on the pamphlet catalogue of Knuttel, 56 broadsides were printed in the year 1650. As this is probably still an underestimate, we must assume that the total number of printed texts for the Dutch Republic was 5–10% more than the STCN now contains.

[40] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 166–8.

through the 17th century, as, it has been suggested, was Italian society and economy.[41] Literacy rates varied, as in England and the Netherlands, from city to countryside, and between the sexes. In Florence, for example, the male literacy rate in 1480 has been estimated to be at least 30–33%. An estimate for Venice in 1587 suggests 33% for boys, 12.2–13.2% for girls, and 23% for both sexes. In the 17th century male literacy rates in larger cities—owing to a range of private- and government-funded schools—was probably in the order of 40%. Early in the century, decrees of the Council of Trent seeking to advance the spread of true religious doctrine, may have stimulated an increase in literacy. On unification in 1861 the overall rate was only about 22%; while the census of 1871 suggested a literacy rate of 31%. For Rome, however, it was 57%, which indicates the severity of the urban-rural divide.[42]

The overall impression given by various surveys is one of a highly literate male population, especially in urban centres. This is supported by a remark by Gregorio Leti in the later 17th century: 'not only does one very frequently see tailors, cobblers, and other artisans leave their manual work, by which they earn their daily bread, to read some book of history or poetry, but even the peasants in the provinces around the city mainly talk about poetry and history, and frequently with some intelligence.'[43] There is doubtless exaggeration in this, but the remark reinforces the impression that literacy was socially and geographically widespread.

It is also difficult to make comparisons between the numerousness, cultural presence and broad impact of books in Italy and in Britain and the Netherlands because of patterns of urbanisation. This was also dispersed, like the distinctive political structures: in contrast to the British Isles, there were in Italy a large number of medium- to large-sized cities, each with their own print networks and culture. We have seen that it is not possible to arrive at a meaningful number for the literate population of Italy. In any case, literacy needs to be understood as a spectrum of abilities and experiences, and the level of urbanisation in Italy meant that more people lived near someone from a sympathetic communion who could find a friend who could read aloud. 'The salient feature of literacy is not its extent', Filippo De Vivo writes, 'but its incidence, or relative availability, and in

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[41] C. Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge, 1994), 70–1, 74.

[42] B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999), 109–111; Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 196–7; B. Dooley, 'The public sphere and the organisation of knowledge', in J.A. Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796* (Oxford, 2002), 209–28, at 215.

[43] Quoted Dooley, 'Public Sphere', 215.

urban society there would have been at least one literate person in most communities.'[44] In Italy's many printing cities, printed texts reached the semi- and non-literate. Oral and literate culture, throughout Europe, interacted so the impact of books was probably more diffuse than any numbers can reflect.

Printing was, like government, decentralised. Printing advanced quickly in Italy: during the incunable period (before 1500) the Italian states accounted for a third, perhaps even as much as 45%, of the total printing across Europe.[45] This pre-eminence declined during the 16th century, but, facilitated by political circumstances, it meant that by 1600 there were over 100 printing centres in Italy; this offers a profound contrast with England and Wales, where there had only ever been a handful, and where almost all printing took place in a single city (and even within a restricted area within that city). It may be for the same reason that book collections are so widely dispersed around Italy today. When the periodical press appeared, it was, though late to commence—because there was already a well-developed manuscript news service[46]—more diffuse than it would ever be in England or the Dutch Republic. Newspapers first appeared in Genoa in 1639, then spread to: Florence, Venice, Rimini, Mantua, Milan, Ancona, Foligno, Turin, Bologna, Macerata, Messina, Naples, Perugia, Fermo, Sinigaglia, and Fano and other towns before the end of the century. In contrast, London was the unchallenged centre of the 17th-century British news industry; in the Dutch Republic there was news printing in Leiden, Haarlem, The Hague and Amsterdam.[47] This raises the question of how the existence of multiple news entrêpots within a country influenced the content and dissemination of news publications.

A final complication lies in estimating the overall number of books. There is no short title catalogue for Italy, as there is for English and Anglophone books, and for the Netherlands. Moreover, print runs were not centrally restricted, so it would be hard to arrive at a persuasive estimate of the total number of printed books. Some evidence suggests that print runs were initially small; however, for those works that inspired

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[44] F. De Vivo, *Information & Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007), 122. See also D. Gentilcore in J.A. Marino, ed. *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796* (Oxford, 2002), 191–2.

[45] Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 5, 25–46; Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, 49–62.

[46] Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*; De Vivo, *Information & Communication in Venice*.

[47] Dooley, 'Public Sphere', 211–12; H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam, 1999), 31–40.

commercial confidence, print runs could reach 3,000, much higher than anything except an official publication in England.[48] While these variables remain so numerous and indeterminate—until more cataloguing and quantitative work has been undertaken—nothing can be learned from a book-*per capita* assessment of Italian print culture.

Particular studies can nonetheless provide instructive impressions. De Vivo's account of the controversy over the Interdict in Venice in 1607–8 provides a parallel with Britain in the 1640s, for example, and it reveals that, in part because of censorship, the pamphlet exchanges never reached the fecundity or ferocity attained during the civil wars of Britain, or in the Dutch Republic in 1650.[49] And the 1570 inventory of the Milan printer Vincenzo Girardone indicates—impressionistically if not statistically— the wealth of popular printed texts that were available in urban centres: the quantities of educational materials including ABCs, grammars, cate- chisms and tables testify to the growth in public elementary schools. Both schools and didactic texts played a part in raising literacy rates. Most of his material was popular devotional literature, a reliable market, with high print runs and demand at local schools. But he also printed almanacs, astrological calendars and other less pious materials, recipe books and books of secrets. The many woodcut blocks and copperplate engravings suggest the visual richness of the works he printed; these included jobbing printing and decorative images, pasted to chests and household altars, for example, and even fans (with popular, romantic and comical themes, troubling to some social reformers). While some print runs were sold wholesale to commissioning publishers, others would have been distributed via pedlars or other itinerant means, and Girardone's shop discloses the diverse range of what might have occupied those ephemeral pedlars' packs discussed in Salzberg's chapter.[50] An inventory of a printer such as Girardone provides a snapshot of some elements of the book culture of early-modern Italy: but a national picture—especially before unification—is much harder to attain.

Across Europe, we have to take into account variations in print distribu- tion and dissemination between cities and the countryside on the one hand, and changing political circumstances on the other. The predomi- nant picture of itinerant book distribution England is that of pedlars

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[48] Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 21.
[49] De Vivo, *Information & Communication*, ch. 6.
[50] K.M. Stevens, 'Vincenzo Girardone and the popular press in Counter-Reformation Milan: a case study', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995): 639–59.

travelling from London to the countryside in the North and the West along a small web of major routes. In small towns, like Shrewsbury and Kendal, pedlars sold their wares, among which were small, entertaining books.[51] However, the local distribution of political print within London has received limited attention, which is all the more surprising considering the numerous studies demonstrating the importance of political print during the civil wars (1637–60) and subsequently in 1678 after the temporary lapse of the Licensing Act of 1662, and again following its permanent lapse in 1695. These events opened up possibilities for printers and distributors to sell political news.[52] Moreover, they have been taken as evidence of the influence of public opinion, since the relative absence of controls permitted or encouraged the production and distribution of larger quantities of political print at times of political conflict.[53] The relationship between the development of popular print and its dissemination is fundamental to current discussions of public opinion and political discourse in early-modern Europe.

The essays in part one explore distribution networks in urban and rural contexts in Italy, the Netherlands, and England. The examinations of specific places—as by Rosa Salzberg on Renaissance Italy—reveal the impact of pedlars on the trade in rural areas. Salzberg shows the rise of the pedlar as a means of distributing news, and the response of the authorities to this perceived threat. As a comparison to the English and Italian situations, Jeroen Salman describes the itinerant trade in the Dutch Republic. To further our understanding of pedlars' social position and cultural significance, Salman focuses on the interaction between representations of pedlars and their reality. He therefore compares the legal and juridical position of the itinerant booksellers in the Dutch Republic and their literary representation.

This visual representation of pedlars offers valuable but fraught and intriguing evidence about them. After all, besides literary representations,

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[51] Spufford, *Great Reclothing*; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories,* 112–128.

[52] See for example: Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*; Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*; Freist, *Governed by Opinion*; M. Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole* (London & Toronto, 1987); R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *Development of the English Book Trade, 1700–1899* (Oxford, 1981); M. Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–81* (Cambridge, 1994), and *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005).

[53] Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*; though the argument about censorship is qualified in Raymond, 'The newspaper, public opinion, and the public sphere in the seventeenth century', in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), 109–40.

itinerant traders appear in numerous paintings and engravings. To what extent did these images represent or reflect or refract the reality? Were they shaped by societal concerns and prejudices more than social reality? The contribution by Alberto Milano is among those that present a trans-European perspective on the itinerant trade (indicating how developments in England and the Dutch Republic were parallel and connected to developments in other countries). Milano shows how the famous Remondini printers near Padova deployed thousands of pedlars in order to distribute millions of devotional, decorative and historical prints throughout Europe. These pedlars functioned as efficient intermediaries between printer and buyer, as they knew what types of images were in demand in the different countries. The most successful pedlars established shops and standing art and print businesses in the main European cities, often co-editing new print series, thereby effectively contributing to a common European visual language.

Finally, Jason Peacey reveals the importance of pedlars for the distribution and the spread of political news throughout England, during the civil wars; within the unique microcosm that was London, rapidly shifting distribution networks were fundamental to the transformations that shaped national (and ultimately) international communications.

The second section develops the considerations raised by Salman: what shaped the relationships between social images and the reality of book distribution? Whereas Shesgreen presents a history of the famous *Cries*, in which the figure of the pedlar is permanently depicted, Bowen turns to the comparison between England and the Dutch Republic. Here, the contrast serves to reveal the distinctiveness of Dutch itinerant traders. She concludes by offering a pattern for evaluating the usefulness of visual representations in adding to our knowledge of the itinerant trade. Melissa Calaresu also develops the trans-European theme, revealing parallels between Italy and England and the Dutch Republic. Calaresu places the tradition of representing street sellers within the ethnographic tradition of early-modern Europe: at the end of the 18th century travellers were fascinated by images of street sellers, as these drawings were understood to represent authentic expressions of popular urban life. Focusing on the Italian custom of depicting street sellers in costume books, she brings to the fore a tradition that has been overlooked in the histories of street cries by Shesgreen and Vincent Milliot.[54]

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[54] V. Milliot, *Les 'Cris de Paris', ou, Le peuple travesti: les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1995); S. Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002).

The final section develops our theme of dissemination, and the connective, transnational aspects of distribution and its cultural consequences. The essays ask: what forms of popular print, such as pamphlets, newsbooks, broadsides, were disseminated; how did distribution practices influence form and content; and how did form and content shape distribution practices? Local focuses are complemented by pan-European views. The distribution of politico-religious pamphlets sometimes involved collaboration between formal structures and itinerant distributors, as is shown by Kate Peters. Quaker pamphlets in the 1650s were dispersed exclusively by well developed Quaker networks, thereby making pedlars and hawkers redundant. Pan-European approaches are adopted in the chapters by Joad Raymond and Joop Koopmans. Taking the newspaper as a starting point, Raymond reveals the ways in which a fundamentally popular and vernacular form or medium crossed linguistic and geopolitical boundaries. The early-modern British newspaper cannot be considered as an exclusively local phenomenon, as it relied on pan-European news gathering and could receive pan-European news distribution. Closely related to the newspaper is the 'newsbook', defined by Koopmans as an infrequent news periodical, positioned somewhere between the weekly or daily newspaper and the chronicle. This bibliographical innovation developed and disseminated across the whole of Europe in the 17th century, yet these news media have merited only passing attention in the discrete history of national media. Koopmans examines the genre's evolution and its intended readership, and thereby asks how 'popular' these media actually were. Questions relating to the transformation of political news are addressed in the paper of Roeland Harms, who compares English pamphlets that appeared during the civil wars with Dutch pamphlets appearing during the Truce Conflicts and the crisis of 1650. He examines the extent to which changes in form and content of political news in both countries took parallel courses. Jo Thijssen looks at the non-commercial use and distribution of a distinct and uniquely 'popular' form, the educational broadside. This emerged in the Dutch Republic at around 1800, which rise was linked with a broad international movement focusing on educating the lower class citizen.

The Benefits of a Long-Time Span

Our aim—to study some of the interactions between distribution networks and external factors such as new commercial institutions, changing legislation, transport systems and economic developments—can only be

achieved by focussing on an extended period of time. The period 1500–1820 matches this aim for several reasons, the most important of which is the crucial changes to the organisation of book production and distribution in several European countries.

In England and Wales for instance we have to take into account the Stationers' Company's monopoly on book production, and the use of the Company by the government to regulate the production and distribution of books. From its formal incorporation in 1557, through the establishing of the English Stock in 1603, through the expiring of the Printing Act in 1695, the Stationers' Company exerted significant control over the business. After that date however, the effective monopoly of the Stationers' Company was substantially reduced. The provinces started to produce their own material and a wave of popular literature, such as pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, but also chapbooks, broadsides and ballads flooded the market. This did not mean that the trade in books went unregulated—rather that bespoke licensing addressed what were seen as specific excesses or transgressions. For example: the 1697 'Act for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars', laid a new basis for attempts to regulate the increasing activities of itinerant book vendors.[55] Moreover mass illiteracy and the price of paper (the largest single element of the cost of a book) ensured that there were profound limits on the liberty of reading. In 1709 the first Copyright Act was issued in England, and rights in copy assigned to authors of books (though they could be transferred to other parties); while the Company retained its role in recording ownership of copy, the act recognised that a trade guild could no longer be used to police such a substantial, dispersed and dynamic business. In the 18th century the rise of provincial printing and the consolidation of the provincial booktrade in England and Wales led to the development of a more comprehensive regional distribution system.[56] Legal changes in the late 18th century, and the invention of machine-made paper, steam printing, hot metal type, and other industrial techniques killed off the hand-made book and served to further undermine the Stationers' Company in the 19th century. These changes manifested themselves in matters of (extended) copyright, in the founding of booksellers associations all over the country to protect retail prices, in the tensions between wholesalers and retailers,

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[55] Spufford, *Great Reclothing,* 14.
[56] Feather, 'The history of the English provincial booktrade', 1–7.

and in the development of a new and more effective internal structure of the trade.[57]

The Netherlands experienced in the 17th century not only a strong increase in numbers of printers and publishers, but also a marked decentralisation of production over the whole country. At the end of the century however, we observe a significant and surprising decline in the number of booksellers. According to the *Thesaurus* of Dutch publishers and booksellers, in the year 1662 there were 440 booksellers active in the Netherlands, but in 1725 this number had declined to 317. From 1730 onwards we see a slow recovery and in 1770 the *Thesaurus* names 441 booksellers.[58] In the 18th century the book industry in the Dutch Republic showed a growing focus on the domestic ('Hollandse') trade at the cost of the international ('Franse') booktrade that flourished in the century before. Also the distribution system in the Dutch booktrade began to change, giving way to new forms of distribution such as commission selling, which made it possible to supply more bookshops within shorter time with recently published books and periodicals. We also observe a growing number of booksellers, an increase of the bookseller's advertisements, and the rise of so-called stockists: major booksellers, especially in Amsterdam, that began to serve as wholesalers. Consequently the publishing business began to distinguish itself from wholesale and retail trade.[59]

After the French Revolution the Dutch publishing industry had lost its decentralised, guild-based organisation. In 1815 this problem was solved by the establishment of the first national branch organisation, the 'Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels' (Society for the benefit of book trade interests). Although in the 18th century a separation between publishing and bookselling first became visible, it was not until the 19th century that this distinction became dominant. The interest of publishers and booksellers began to diverge, leading eventually to separated branch organisations in 1880 (publishers) and 1907 (retailers).[60] These divisions between publishing, printing and selling were

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[57] Feather, 'English provincial booktrade', 7; S. Colclough, 'Distribution', in D. McKitterick, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 6: *1830–1914* (Cambridge, 2009), 238–240.

[58] See the online version of the *Thesaurus* of Gruys & De Wolf <www.bibliopolis.nl>, [19/09/2011].

[59] Van Goinga, *Alom the bekomen*, 405.

[60] B. Dongelmans & J. de Kruif, 'Technische vooruitgang zoekt gretig publiek. Het boekbedrijf in de negentiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 17 (2010), 224–226.

already evident in 17th-century England, in conflicts between interest groups in the Stationers' Company; in the 18th century these extended into the dominance of London printers over regional distributors, just as provincial printers sought to make their mark.

In the Netherlands, furthermore, we see a growing institutionalisation and professionalization of the itinerant booktrade in the 19th century. Itinerant booksellers were for the first time incorporated in branch registrations and the 'colporteur' was recognised as a specialised itinerant bookseller. This process was crystallized in the establishment of an official trade journal, *De Kolporteur* (*The Pedlar*) in 1868 (continuing through 1889).[61] In this respect also England was far ahead: there the Licensing Act, registering and sanctioning pedlars and hawkers on a national level, was issued in 1697.

Long-term developments in the retail system affected not only The Netherlands and England and Wales but also other European countries. The 18th century was a period of rapid transformation in consumer culture, as a consequence of which there was a widening bifurcation between the itinerant and stationary, shop-based trade. Harald Deceulaer has argued that 'the growth in consumption in many countries, at least in England, France and the Southern Netherlands, went hand in hand with an enormous growth in fraud, smuggling and peddling.'[62] According to Cissie Fairchilds, an advanced distribution system was a necessary condition for the growth of the French consumption of cheap copies of aristocratic luxury items like fans and umbrellas. She also points at England where these types of goods 'were sold freely in both country and town by wandering chapmen, pedlars unfettered by local restrictions on shops and market days.'[63] Itinerants were more flexible in buying and selling new products and finding new markets. Jan de Vries observes, in his groundbreaking monograph *The Industrious Revolution*, a major shift in the period 1650–1750 from 'markets, fairs and direct, guild-controlled artisanal sales towards retail shops and peddlers.' Shops spread over the country,

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[61] L. Kuitert, '*De Kolporteur* (1868–1889): Vakblad voor een gefrustreerde beroepsgroep', *Boekenwereld*, 10 (1994), 36–40.

[62] H. Deceulaer, 'Dealing with diversity: pedlars in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century', in B. Blondé, P. Stabel, J. Stobart, & I. Van Damme, eds., *Buyers and Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2006), 171.

[63] C. Fairchilds, 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in J. Brewer & R. Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London & New York, 1994), 230–231.

beyond the traditional market towns to villages, offering a variety of commodities, and pedlars complemented these shops with other goods. The increase of these small retail outlets was guided by a growing number of pedlars. This new retail network guaranteed a much larger supply of consumer goods than the old market system.[64]

These changes in the production and distribution of books in the period 1600–1820 need to be situated alongside, and understood in relation to other socio-political and cultural changes: the religious and political conflicts in the 17th century, the rise of the Enlightenment and the impact of the French Revolution in the 18th century, and a growing nationalism and increasing literacy in the 19th century. In many of these, print played a crucial role. During the revolutionary 1780s, for instance, new political periodicals and newspapers stirred up Dutch public debate. Early examples as the patriotic *De Post van de Neder-Rhijn* (Post from the Lower Rhine) and the Orangist *Post naar de Neder-Rhijn* (Post to the Lower Rhine) show how the different political parties were aware of the immense impact of printed media. Also the content of established and traditionally neutral newspapers such as the *Oprechte Haerlemse courant* (Haarlem Newspaper) and the *'s Gravenhaegse courant* (The Hague Newspaper) was politicised in this period. From this moment on, political news became a permanent force in the political arena in The Netherlands.[65]

While the 19th century witnessed substantial growth in literacy statistics and in the numbers of readers, in the Netherlands as well as elsewhere in Europe, this does not automatically imply a growing production and distribution of books. Not all readers were buyers of books; many were visitors to a growing number of libraries (society libraries, commercial libraries, reading libraries etc.). An important difference however is that the Dutch market for personal books purchased outside these institutions, because of the relative small demand for Dutch books, was much smaller than in England. Furthermore, the Dutch intellectual elite was not only interested in Dutch books, but equally interested in foreign material.[66] The culture of reading, of course, shaped the economic

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[64] De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, 169.

[65] M. Everard, 'In en om de (*Nieuwe*) *Bataafsche Vrouwe Courant'*. Het aandeel van vrouwen in een revolutionair politieke cultuur', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 24 (2001), 69–71; M. Broersma, 'Constructing public opinion: Dutch newspapers on the eve of a revolution (1780–1795)', in J.W. Koopmans, ed., *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven & Paris, 2005), 224–234.

[66] J. Kloek & W. Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (Den Haag, 2001), 95–102.

development of the trade: and this is particularly evident when we view the shifting dissemination of books over four centuries.

Conclusions

We have proposed that, in order to understand the life force of books, studies of their distribution should acknowledge the means by which culture shapes the mechanics of movement. We have further proposed that internationalism, international focus and movement, is integral to this dissemination. Internationalism provides a further problem for static appropriations of the Darnton model: what happens when the circuit of production and consumption drifts overseas? Moreover, what if the local circuits of production and consumption were inseparable from, even an effect of, international trade, even in the case of cheap, popular print?

While it would not be feasible to demonstrate the fine grain of dissemination on a pan-European, comparative scale, it is possible to focus on mobility and on trans-national transactions. While some of the studies that follow are local, they all cross boundaries. The emphasis on itinerant distribution brings irregularity, rather than static structures, to the foreground; but it also provides a new insight into the dynamism of the book trade at its lowest, least commercialised and institutionalised levels, and at the point at which books intersected with the greatest diversity of readers. These are the spheres within which we might expect the trade in books to be most local, most insular, least international, but this proves not to be the case. Our local studies are transitive, and lead to a larger group of networks. By showing the book trade in motion, and exploring its connectivity, we hope to provide the basis for a more thoroughly international understanding of the history of books.

Finally, this material life found a vibrant expression in visual culture, in particular in prints, but also occasionally in other media such as paintings of itinerant distributors. Whereas a painting of Saint Jerome or a courtier might include a book in its visual vocabulary as a symbol of learning or introspection, representations of humble and anonymous men and women carrying books for sale bore a richer, less easy to translate meaning. Just how culturally fraught and ambivalent prevailing perceptions of pedlars and hawkers and chapmen were can be ascertained from images of them—and this ambivalence makes these images difficult to read. Nonetheless, the landscapes, the clothing, the material details, the relationships with customers and readers depicted in these portraits and

pictures is a valuable source for understanding both distribution and dissemination, and they provide a materiality that textual evidence, whether imaginative writings or booksellers' accounts, cannot offer. They are a stirring reminder—to pick up the phrase of an English pamphleteer who frequently reminded his readers of the sensory appeal of books to the nose, eye, hand—that books were not dead things.

PART ONE

DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS AND THE POPULAR PRESS

CHAPTER TWO

PRINT PEDDLING AND URBAN CULTURE IN RENAISSANCE ITALY

Rosa Salzberg

In November 1575, when the most devastating plague since the Black Death was ravaging the city of Venice, a lame street vendor called Battista Furlano was found peddling printed flyers near the gate of the Ducal Palace in the central square of Piazza San Marco. The work he sold was a small, octavo-sized single sheet (see Figure 2.1) containing a short Latin oration and its vernacular translation, proclaiming itself to be:

> [...] THAT GREAT SECRET FOR STAYING SAFE IN A TIME OF PLAGUE.
> You should carry with you, and recite the following words in praise of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST and of the Virgin MARY his most glorious mother every morning with faith and devotion.[1]

In the hope of protecting oneself from a plague in which one-third of the city's population perished, one could buy one of these flyers for a nominal sum.[2]

While these humble slips of paper might have offered a tempting possibility of protection to Venetian consumers, the local branch of the Inquisition believed such orations to be superstitious and thus potentially dangerous, and called in those involved in printing and distributing them

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[1] 'Questo è quel gran secreto da esser sicuro à tempo di Peste. Dirai ogni mattina con fede e divotione, e porterai addosso à laude del Nostro Signore Giesu Christo, e di Maria Vergine sua gloriosissima madre, le seguenti parole.' Copies of the orations are preserved with the trial records in Archivio di Stato, Venice (henceforth ASV), Sant'Uffizio, busta 39, fascicolo 7. The Venetian calendar began on March 1, the Florentine calendar on March 25. In both cases, dates have been adapted to the modern style. In archival transcriptions, abbreviations have been expanded, and basic spelling (v/u; i/j) and punctuation adjusted to modern usage. All translations into English are my own unless stated.

[2] The flyers were sold for one *bezzo*, or half a *soldo*, each, equivalent to one fortieth of a ducat. In this period, porters in the Venetian Arsenal earned about ten to thirteen *soldi* a day, while unskilled labourers in the building trades took home about 20.4 *soldi* per day; B. Pullan, 'Wage-earners and the Venetian economy, 1550–1630', *Economic History Review*, 16.3 (1964), 415, 420. On the devastation of this plague, particularly in Venice, see S.K. Cohn Jr, *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2010), 21.

Figure 2.1. Anti-plague oration (Venice: Pietro de' Farri, 1575), preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Venice, Sant'Uffizio, busta 39, fascicolo 7 (with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Italy).

for questioning. First was the street seller, Furlano, who had been peddling in the piazza since at least 1567.[3] He led the Inquisitors to the printer, Pietro de' Farri, who, notably, had not put his name or mark on the sheets, nor sought the required license for them.[4] De' Farri in turn implicated another; he had given the works not only to Battista, but to another vendor, Iseppo Mantelli, who operated on the Rialto Bridge ('vende sul ponte da Rialto').[5] Both sellers had taken a *quinterno*, or twenty-five printed

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[3] On the censorship of these kinds of orations, see M.P. Fantini, 'Censura romana e orazioni: modi, tempi, formule (1571–1620)', in *L'inquisizione e gli storici: un cantiere aperto* (Tavola rotonda nell'ambito della conferenza annuale della ricerca, Roma, 24–25 giugno 1999) (Rome, 2000), 221–43. 'Batista furlan quondam Tomaso Zanier a il banco in Piaza di San Marco' was included in a list of booksellers operating in the city compiled by the Inquisiton: ASV, Sant'Uffizio, busta 156, unnumbered sheet dated 13 September 1567.

[4] On de' Farri, see M. Menato, E. Sandal, & G. Zappella, eds., *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, vol. 1: *A-F* (Milan, 1997), 428–30.

[5] It is unclear whether Mantelli had his own shop at Rialto or a street-based operation. He acted as a publisher of two works in 1567 (see F. Ascarelli & M. Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Florence, 1989), 417). However, it was not unknown for stall-holders to act as publishers, as Sigismondo Bordogna, who operated a stall in Piazza San Marco, did in this period.

sheets, which could have translated into 200 copies of the octavo flyer, although Battista claimed to have passed some of his on to another pedlar called Paolo Lauto, effectively subcontracting him and presumably taking a cut.

Thus in the midst of a crisis, the printer and his peddling associates perceived a potential market for cheap printed items that would offer some form of protection, and set about catering to it. Rapidly, several hundred copies of the flyer were hawked on the streets of Venice. Around the two busiest hubs of Rialto and San Marco, the pedlars would have called attention to the flyers for sale by loud verbal advertisement, perhaps shouting out the arresting first line of the oration. The potential audience for these works was very broad: their price made them accessible to all but the poorest consumers, and the simple printed oration, to be carried on the body like a talisman and recited out loud, could be utilised even by those with limited reading ability.[6]

In the 1570s, just over a century after the initiation of printing in Italy, Venice was still the largest printing centre in the peninsula, and one of the largest in Europe, although the absolute dominance it had held earlier in the century was about to wane. The new technology of the press had fallen on extremely fertile ground in cosmopolitan and prosperous Italy and spread quickly, particularly to centres in the more urbanised north of the peninsula. By the early 16th century, a vibrant and productive print market linked both larger and smaller Italian cities and provided access to a wide range of goods to many different people.[7]

The case of the anti-plague oration illuminates well-tested methods of print production and sale in operation; some of the mechanisms which connected printshops with the piazzas, streets and bridges of Italian Renaissance cities. It demonstrates how cheap print was produced and distributed by a network of individuals which might include better-known and established printers and publishers as well as much more 'ephemeral' figures, such as the street pedlars of these orations, who if not for the investigative efforts of the Inquisition would otherwise remain almost completely obscured. Yet all of these individuals had their own interest in producing and distributing printed items to the widest possible market,

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[6] The Inquisition collected other works that were doing the rounds at the same time, offering similar solutions, such as another flyer including orations to Saints Roch and Martha preserved in the same Inquisition file. Cohn, *Cultures of Plague*, demonstrates how this plague in particular occasioned an unprecedented outpouring of cheap print.

[7] On the spread of printing in Italy, see A. Quondam, 'La letteratura in tipografia', in A. Asor Rosa, ed., *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 2, *Produzione e consumo* (Turin, 1983), 555–686.

and thus each in some way drove the transmission of texts throughout Italian society and beyond. If we are to fully understand the penetration of print into Italian culture, it is essential to take account of the role of pedlars alongside other members of the print world.

In order to trace the role of print pedlars, the first difficult task is to find them at all. The history of the early Italian print trade has been dominated by the stories of the printers, publishers and booksellers who established local industries and has largely forgotten the role of the 'foot soldiers' who did much of the work to bring texts to consumers in the streets.[8] This is of course primarily because these figures tended to leave few traces of themselves, much as the ephemeral works they sold are the least likely to survive and to be preserved in collections. And yet, the chance survival of a logbook from one of the earliest Italian printing houses, that of the Ripoli convent press in Florence, shows clearly how, already by the 1480s, pedlars were taking large runs of cheap pamphlets and flyers from the press to sell on the streets. Some of these vendors were also performers, described as charlatans (*cermatori*), and their involvement in commissioning works may have helped to channel useful 'on the ground' knowledge about the interests of consumers back to the printers.[9] However, the absence of other evidence as rich as this logbook has led some historians to assume that the Ripoli case was an anomaly, no more than another expression of Florence's exceptionally fertile culture of vernacular literature and street performance.

Florence certainly did have a particularly strong tradition in this regard. Nonetheless, there are numerous indicators that street selling occurred in many Italian cities from the earliest days of printing—particularly in the larger metropolises like Venice, Rome, Milan and Naples—and continued to expand in the 16th century.[10] These cities, and also other major centres, came to host vibrant print markets which incorporated both shop and street selling. Initially, print pedlars may have been an occasional presence. In 1470, for example, the stationers of Ferrara tried to restrict the

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[8] See, for example, A. Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell Italia del Rinascimento*, new ed. (Milan, 2003), otherwise a very useful overview of the early Italian book trade.

[9] See S. Noakes, 'The development of the book market in late quattrocento Italy: printers' failures and the role of the middleman', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 11.1 (1981), 23–55; M. Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli, 1476–1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence, 1999).

[10] R. Salzberg, '"Selling Stories and Many Other Things in and through the City": peddling print in Renaissance Florence and Venice', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 42.3 (2011), 737–59.

selling of printed books only to those enrolled in their guild. However, they did permit itinerant printers to stop and sell their products in the town for a maximum of three days, at fairs for example.[11] As the print market grew in the 16th century, and more and more cheap works were produced in the vernacular targeted at a broad audience, street selling provided an increasingly important supplement to local shops in many Italian towns, and pedlars proliferated.

There is nothing surprising in this: well before the arrival of print, Italian cities had complex and established retailing cultures for selling all kinds of essential and non-essential goods, manifested in a great variety of temporary and more permanent forms, from baskets and stalls, to shops, fairs and markets.[12] Print pedlars were just another kind of vendor on the streets, albeit offering a novel product. Many of those who turned to selling print, in one way or another, were improvising, adding another strand to careers as sellers of other goods, as performers, beggars, printers' apprentices, or school teachers. As time went on, a few became 'professional' print pedlars, operating over longer distances, but this transition does not seem to have occurred to any great degree before the 17th and 18th centuries.[13]

The growing cultural and commercial importance of print peddling— and its enduring links to established modes of oral communication—can be discerned during the early years of the calamitous Italian wars, which were to last on and off from the descent of French King Charles VIII into Italy in 1494 until the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. These wars ravaged many parts of the Italian peninsula, but also provided an opportunity for printers and distributors of texts to tap into an eager market for news and commentary about the rapidly evolving events. One of the chief means of communicating information about the wars in print, writing and by voice was the genre retrospectively dubbed the *guerre in ottava rima* (literally, wars in octave verses). Frequently these verse works were composed and performed by itinerant street singers, then given to the

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[11] A. Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra XV e XVI secolo. La bottega di Domenico Sivieri* (Florence, 1998), 15–16. For a similar episode in Bologna, see G. Cencetti, 'Alcuni documenti sul commercio libraio bolognese al principio del secolo XVI', *L'Archiginnasio*, 30.14 (1935), 355–62.

[12] E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400–1600* (New Haven, 2005).

[13] See L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. V. Whittaker (Cambridge, 1996); M. Infelise, *I Remondini di Bassano: Stampa e industria nel Veneto del Settecento*, 2nd ed. (Bassano del Grappa, 1990), esp. 114–18; and the chapter by Alberto Milano in this volume.

presses and rapidly transmitted to the public in the form of cheap pamphlets. Rather than carrying the first news of an event, the *guerre* seem to have offered commentary on episodes (battles lost and won, treaties signed, the downfall of leaders) already known about via other methods of news dissemination such as oral discussion and public announcements. However, they often responded very quickly to events unfolding, their titles promising up-to-date and blow-by-blow accounts of proceedings, suggesting that they allowed readers/listeners to closely follow the vicissitudes of the wars and to feel connected to events occurring in other parts of Italy. The texts worked within traditional narrative and lyrical forms—such as the poetic lament in the voice of the conquered city or the defeated leader—to powerful emotional effect.[14] Although only rarely sponsored directly by governments, printers, performers and pedlars seem often to have presented and marketed the texts to appeal to the patriotic tastes of a local audience. They employed rough but effective woodcut illustrations on their front pages to communicate both the timeless narrative appeal of the works and their topical relevance, depicting either generic images of battle, borrowed from chivalric tales, or sometimes more specific political iconography such as the Venetian symbol of the Lion of Saint Mark. The proliferation of these and other poetic works and songs concerning the wars suggests the appearance of a kind of 'evanescent public sphere' of widespread debate and discussion among the Italian populace in many cities, far beyond the bounds of the limited political and educated classes and interweaving printed, manuscript and oral forms of communication.[15]

It is clear that the dissemination of such texts, both orally and in print, frequently took place in the streets and other public spaces and involved print pedlars who were sometimes also performers. Venetian diarists refer to the sale of political songs (and even of the text of the Pope's excommunication of the French) around the city and on the Rialto Bridge.[16] After

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[14] On the nature of these texts, see R. Salzberg & M. Rospocher, 'Street singers in Italian Renaissance urban culture and communication', *Cultural and Social History*, 9.1 (2012), 9–26. A collection of them is published as *Guerre in ottava rima*, 4 vols (Ferrara, 1989), henceforth GOR. On the development of news fostering a new sense of time and space in the early-modern period, see B. Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2010).

[15] R. Salzberg & M. Rospocher, 'An evanescent public sphere: voices, spaces, and publics in Venice during the Italian wars', in M. Rospocher, ed., *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe (XVI–XVIII)* (Bologna & Berlin, 2012), 93–114.

[16] M. Sanudo, *I Diarii (1496–1533)*, ed. R. Fulin et al., 58 vols (Venice, 1879–1903), vol. 2, col. 366 (24 January 1499); vol. 11, col. 615 (19 November 1510).

Venice was disastrously defeated in battle in 1509 by the League of Cambrai, one diarist recorded how across Italy verse accounts of the rout were circulating in print and 'being sung and recited on the piazzas throughout Italy by charlatans, who made a living from this'.[17] The *guerre in ottava rima* were performed, printed and distributed in many Italian cities, although prevalently in the central north of the peninsula. Ferrara seems to have been a particular hub of this kind of printing, performing and selling, as exemplified by the anti-Venetian works of the singer Bighignol, who offered one of them for sale after the performance for the price of a *carlino* (a Roman coin worth less than one tenth of a ducat).[18] Such examples suggest strongly that the 'Ripoli model', of pedlars and performers commissioning or taking works that tapped into topical issues and popular concerns from local presses out onto the streets, was not unique to Florence. Various kinds of news and printed texts and images related to contemporary wars and political affairs remained a staple of the pedlar's basket well into the 17th century, as suggested by the Mitelli print discussed further below (see Figure 2.2).[19]

While we can rarely document an individual performer or pedlar in the act of hawking a particular work of this kind, there is clear evidence by the early 16th century of a flexible and responsive system of producing and distributing cheap printed works catering to public interest and targeting the crowds which gathered in the chief public spaces of Italian cities. The public, oral performance or hawking of such texts meant that they could reach a large audience of both the literate and illiterate. Diaries and literary sources give hints of who these print pedlars were, where and how they operated, and what they sold. This can be fleshed out with further evidence from government, ecclesiastical and guild records. Documentation is more abundant from the later 16th century when, as discussed further below, both civic and religious authorities in Italian cities became increasingly concerned with monitoring public behaviour and the use of public spaces, and particularly with the dissemination of heterodox or immoral works in print.

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[17] 'Per tutta la Italia se cantavano et recitavano sopra le piazze per li zarlatani, che vivevano cum questo'. G. Priuli, *I Diarii*, ed. R. Cessi (Bologna, 1933–37), 4:56–57 (June 1509).

[18] *Historia de le guerre de la beatitudine de papa Iulio* ([after 1515]). GOR, 1: 79–80, nos 107–9.

[19] M. Infelise, 'The War, the News and the Curious: Military Gazettes in Italy', in B. Dooley & S. Baron, eds., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2001), 216–36.

Figure 2.2. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Compra chi vuole, avisi di guerra, carte di guerra, a buon mercato a due bolognini l'una* (Bologna, 1684). © Trustees of the British Museum.

It is clear that pedlars were especially involved in the dissemination of cheap print: pamphlets, flyers and broadsheets.[20] In Venice, a government decree of 1543 explicitly associated street sellers operating in spaces like the Rialto Bridge with the vending of printed 'books and works, prognostications, stories, songs, letters, and other similar things'—the genres typically produced in small and cheap formats.[21] But pedlars could also certainly be found selling printed images and engravings. In Florence in 1562, the printer Giorgio Marescotti sought permission from the government to sell various kinds of pictures in the streets, 'display[ing] them in

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[20] Cf. G. Bertoli, 'Nuovi documenti sull'attività di John Wolf a Firenze (1576–7), con alcune considerazioni sul fenomeno delle stampe popolari', *Archivio storico italiano*, 153.3 (1995), 583. However, cheap print was also sold from shops, as demonstrated by the inventory discussed in K.M. Stevens, 'Vincenzo Girardone and the popular press in Counter-Reformation Milan: a case study (1570)', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26.3 (1995), 639–59.

[21] 'Quelle […] che vendeno de tal libri et opere pronostici, hystorie, canzone, lettere, et altre simel cose sul Ponte de Rialto et in altri loci de questa città'. ASV, Consiglio dei dieci, Parte comuni, filza 32, fascicolo 234.

public after the feast day masses'.[22] The records of the Florentine guild of doctors and apothecaries (the *Arte dei medici e speziali*) which enrolled print pedlars included many who specified that they sold pictures or prints, such as Pietro di Jacopo Plus from Flanders who was selling 'drawings, prints and pictures in the city of Florence and through the [Florentine] state' in 1585.[23] In late 16th-century Siena, the guilds of painters and stationers fought over the right to grant licenses to sellers of prints, mostly itinerant vendors, while in the streets of Naples in the same period, one could find sellers like Giovanni Battista Vinacca peddling 'in public various images, stories and books'.[24] As this last example suggests, some pedlars also sold larger works, ones that can properly be called 'books'. Such was the case with the publisher and sometime pedlar of prohibited evangelical literature Pietro Perna who worked all over northern Italy in the middle decades of the 16th century, leaving deposits of books in safe places to come back and collect.[25] Some stall holders also certainly sold proper books, including second-hand ones. Moreover, the Florentine records particularly suggest that pedlars often combined print selling with the marketing of many other products, frequently including items of haberdashery, perfumes, soap and medicines.[26]

Print pedlars must have been a significant visual and aural presence in the 'landscape' of Italian Renaissance cities. As already suggested, they chose places in the city where many people came or passed through every day, such as Piazza San Marco and the Rialto in Venice, the Mercato Vecchio and the Via Calimala in Florence, Campo dei Fiori and Piazza Navona in Rome. They also seem to have congregated on festive occasions when there were many people in the streets (but when Christian teaching decreed that shops should be closed). In Florence from the 1540s, a number of pedlars appealed to the Duke against periodic bans on street selling on feast days (*feste*). Most claimed, as did the stationers Santi di Giuliano and Bonino di Vincenzo in 1547, that being able to sell their 'stories and

[22] Archivio di Stato, Florence (henceforth ASF), Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, busta 193, c. 415r (May 1562).

[23] 'Pietro di Jacopo Plus fiammingho vende disegni stampe et pitture nella città di Firenze et per lo stato'. ASF, Arte dei Medici e Speziali, filza 13, c. 210v (23 March 1585). On the enrollment of foreign pedlars in this guild, see below.

[24] P.F. Gehl, 'The 1615 Statutes of the Sienese Guild of Stationers and Booksellers: Provincial Publishing in Early Modern Tuscany', *I Tatti Studies*, 6 (1995), 230–1; P. Lopez, *Inquisizione, stampa e censura nel Regno di Napoli tra '500 e '600* (Naples, 1974), 327.

[25] U. Rozzo, 'Pietro Perna colportore, libraio, tipografo ed editore tra Basilea e l'Italia', *Bibliotheca: Rivista di studi bibliografici*, 1 (2004), 46–64.

[26] For examples, see Salzberg, 'Selling Stories'.

pictures' ('leggende et pitture') on such days was essential to their survival and ability to support their families.[27] Central areas such as the Via Calimala, where the print pedlars habitually operated, were 'like a fair' on such days, the streets flooded with peasants and foreigners who came in to visit the great churches and a host of retailers of all kinds to cater to their needs.[28] In 1598, the Venetian printers' guild attempted to control the peddling of print on feast days by issuing four licenses per *festa* to poor masters to sell in the streets, with two at San Marco and two at Rialto.[29] We know less about how print pedlars moved around the city, whether they sometimes went door to door in more residential areas, as some ambulant vendors certainly did in the period.

Competing with the chaos of urban life and the cacophony of other street sellers, print pedlars did not just stand silently to the sides but rather aimed to draw the attention of the crowds with the words they shouted or sung, and the visual display of their printed pamphlets and images. In Rome, there seems to have been a custom of advertising printed works for sale on poles carried around the streets or the crowded chambers of the papal court, drawing attention above the throngs of people.[30] A 17th-century engraving by the Bolognese artist Giuseppe Maria Mitelli depicts a pedlar selling printed maps, portraits and newsletters which are pinned to his clothing, displayed in his hands and cascading out of a basket held in the crook of his arm, while he cries out the nature and price of his wares (see Illustration 6.2). As already indicated, street peddling of print had close ties to performance and hawking could blur into more sophisticated and sustained recitations. Pietro Aretino, commenting on the sale and recital of his works on the piazza of Ferrara by a famous charlatan, noted the ability of such individuals to capture and hold attention with the strumming of an instrument, the display of their merchandise and the eloquence of their tongues.[31] The street cries of print pedlars have rarely

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[27] ASF, Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, busta 192, fascicolo 587[r]. On that occasion, the stationers' appeal was denied.

[28] See, for example, ibid., busta 193, fascicolo 582[r].

[29] ASV, Arte dei librai e stampatori, busta 163, registro 2, cc. 2[r-v]. A 1565 ruling indicates that it had been common to sell religious (and irreligious) prints and pamphlets on the streets between Rialto and San Marco on feast days. See the Matricola dell'Arte dei stampatori e librari di Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice, MS. Cicogna 3044 / Mariegola no. 119, c. 42[r].

[30] A. Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism at the Court of Clement VII. Francesco Berni's Dialogue Against Poets in Context* (New York & London, 1997), 192.

[31] P. Aretino, *Lettere*, ed. P. Procaccioli (Rome, 1999), 3:325–27. See also R. Salzberg, 'In the mouths of charlatans: performers as pamphlet publishers in Cinquecento Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 24.5 (2010), 638–53.

been recorded but we find the occasional oblique reference, as in a 16th-century poem which evoked the clamour of selling on the Rialto Bridge, including pedlars advertising 'the song of San Martino / twenty for a *quattrino*' as well as small books of hours and pamphlet calendars or *lunari*.[32] The titles of many works probably give an indication of the pedlars' cry, stressing the 'novelty', 'beauty' and 'pleasantness' of the texts (as in the many whose titles began *Opera nuova/bella/piacevole*). Similarly, the closing lines of some compositions evoked the moment of sale in the streets, as in the singer Bighignol's war poem which ended with an offer to audience-members to buy the printed edition.[33]

Evidently, some dedicated performers worked also as print pedlars, but who were the others? A few common types have already been mentioned. Young boys seem often to have been employed advertising or peddling print on the streets. In 1568, for example, the Venetian blasphemy magistrates who helped to regulate the print trade tried to control the selling of unlicensed cheap works 'by boys and others on the Rialto Bridge and in other places'.[34] While some of these were employed by publishers or printers, others seem to have gone out on their own initiative, such as thirteen and twenty-year old Bartolomeo and Gaspare, orphaned sons of a stationer, who in 1559 begged the Duke of Florence for permission to continue to sell cheap print on the streets 'in order to sustain themselves'.[35]

This example highlights how the history of print peddling needs to be considered in relation to the history of poverty. Some print pedlars were clearly desperate characters, turning to this cheap new merchandise as simply another strategy in makeshift careers that might veer perilously close to begging. In Naples in 1593, for example, Filippo Perrino claimed he 'bought and sold books, stories and pictures in public in order to sustain his life and that of his poor father, brothers and sisters'.[36] Pedlars appear frequently to have been blind or lame, like the seller Battista Furlano selling the anti-plague orations, or a certain

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[32] 'Qui è la canzon de San Martin, / vinti per un quatrin [...] / Chi vol un officietto [...] ?/ Lunari novi e beli'. *Viaggio de Zan Padella, cosa ridiculosa e bela, dond es descrif tug le cose ches vende sul punt de Rialt in Venesia* (Modena, [ca. 1580]), cc. 2ʳ-3ʳ. A *quattrino* was a coin worth one-third of a *soldo*.

[33] See above, n. 18.

[34] 'Per puti et altri far vender sul Ponte di Rialto et altri lochi'. ASV, Esecutori contra la bestemmia, Notatorio, busta 56, vol. 2, c. 38ᵛ (2 March 1568).

[35] 'Per sostentamento della vita loro'. ASF, Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, busta 193, fascicolo 12ʳ (March 1559).

[36] Lopez, *Inquisizione, stampa e censura*, 331–2.

zoppo libraro (crippled bookseller) working in Campo de' Fiori in Rome in 1577.[37]

Many print pedlars were foreigners in the town in which we find them working, although it is usually difficult to say if they were recently arrived or long established, and thus what role peddling played in their working lives. A Venetian list of street sellers operating in the city in 1567, for example, included men identified as hailing from Trino (in Lombardy), Vicenza, Bergamo, Brescia and Salò (in the Venetian mainland state), and from as far afield as France.[38] The vast majority of the print sellers who operated at one time or another in Florence in the 16th century named their provenance as somewhere else on the Italian mainland (many from Venice or the Veneto), with the occasional representative from southern Italy (Naples) or beyond (Cyprus). We can speculate that, for many, urban print peddling was a way to try to break into the publishing industry when they arrived in town with little capital and few connections. For others, however, it was a fallback after a long career in a new city had failed to provide them with a secure income, particularly in their later years.[39] Although the publishing world was characterised by a high degree of mobility, what is unclear is how many pedlars were continuously itinerant, moving around Italy in search of a good market for their merchandise. Only from the 17th century do we see distinct evidence of long-range print pedlars who went on regularised annual sales trips and penetrated further into rural areas.[40] In the 16th century we can catch only brief glimpses of highly-mobile figures like the performer Ippolito Ferrarese who published pamphlets (and no doubt also sold them) in Venice, Brescia, Bologna, Parma, Pesaro and Milan.[41]

What is crucial to recognise is that, even if they were not full-time professionals or established local figures, pedlars were part of interconnected networks for distributing print. These networks, as demonstrated by the case with which this chapter began, incorporated both printers and publishers with more fixed and permanent shops, semi-permanent stall holders and vendors with baskets who worked a particular 'beat' (sometimes

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[37] G.L. Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del cinquecento: documenti inediti* (Rome, 1980), 13.

[38] See the list cited in n. 3, above.

[39] For examples, see Salzberg, 'Selling Stories'.

[40] See the works cited above, n. 13.

[41] See Salzberg, 'In the mouths of charlatans'; see also G. Petrella, 'Ad instantia d'Hippolito Ferrarese'. Un cantimbanco editore nell'Italia del Cinquecento', *Paratesto*, 8 (2011), 23–79.

for many years), as well as more improvisatory pedlars, who obtained their print stocks from the others.[42] The relations between the various members might combine elements of business, friendship and charity. In Milan in 1570, for example, the printer Vincenzo Girardone not only stocked large quantities of cheap devotional works and school books but also sold them on to itinerant vendors.[43] In Rome in the same period the printer and bookseller Marco Amadori made several loans to an indigent pedlar, Luca Renzi, of money and books which Renzi took from Amadori's workshop to sell around the city. Charitably, Amadori made one of the loans interest-free and waited more than a year for another to be repaid.[44] Other relations were less amicable. Another sorry figure in Rome, Panfilo Favemolle di Acquapendente, alias 'Perdigiorno' ('timewaster'), was in 1577 found in possession of some cheap pamphlets and claimed to have bought them from the lame bookseller who worked in Campo dei Fiori for 'a *giulio*, to resell them and earn something'. Under further interrogation, however, he admitted to having stolen them from the stall of a butcher selling them in the same square.[45]

Although pedlars were often very poor and socially marginal figures, they were nevertheless an important part of the world of print, alongside the better-documented and more prestigious printers and bookshop owners; these two groups constituted 'complementary and interacting' sectors.[46] Printers and publishers might sometimes try to disavow their associations with pedlars, or ban them from involvement in the distribution of print, but rarely could they dispense with their services altogether. All the same, from the second half of the 16th century, as the Italian printing trade grew from a start-up enterprise based on a new and untested technology into an established and often profitable sector of the urban economy, the place of pedlars within this world gradually changed. Increasing attempts at surveillance and control of pedlars came from two

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[42] No clear terminology appears to have existed to describe these sellers; in guild records they are usually described simply by the kinds of merchandise they sold and sometimes with reference to the spaces which they frequented, such as the marketplace or simply 'around the city'. See Salzberg, 'Selling Stories'.

[43] Stevens, 'Vincenzo Girardone'. See also K.M. Stevens & P.F. Gehl, 'Cheap print: a look inside the Lucini-Sirtori stationery shop at Milan (1597–1613)', *La Bibliofilia*, 92.3 (2010), 281–327; and M.C. Napoli, 'Lettura e circolazione del libro tra le classi popolari a Napoli tra '500 e '600', in M.R. Pelizzari, ed., *Sulle vie della scrittura* (Naples, 1989), 378.

[44] Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai*, 35–6.

[45] Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai*, 53.

[46] L. Carnelos, 'Libri da grida, da banco e da bottega. Editoria di consumo a Venezia tra norma e contraffazione (XVII–XVIII)', PhD thesis (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice, 2008–9), 155.

directions: firstly, from civic and religious authorities concerned about the circulation of prohibited texts and, secondly, from guild-members trying to protect their monopoly on the industry. Civic authorities also sometimes sought to control pedlars when they became concerned about the political ramifications of the print they sold, or their unruly presence in public space. However, such initiatives had to confront the fact that peddling of all kinds was a nearly ineradicable presence in Italian cities increasingly prey to economic pressures and serious food shortages.

One of the reasons we know more about pedlars from the second half of the 16th century is that they came to the attention of religious and civic authorities trying to prevent the spread of heterodoxy and immorality. This only became a serious concern in most places from the 1540s, when evangelical ideas appeared rife in Italy, particularly in cosmopolitan cities like Venice with close links to northern Europe. However, in the following decades the publication of Indices of Prohibited Books, a series of raids on bookshops and public burnings of proscribed books seem to have succeeded in pushing the circulation of openly heterodox print into clandestine circuits. The occasional pedlar of Protestant works who comes to light had to work furtively, certainly not able to stand out in the street and cry his wares.[47]

By the last quarter of the 16th century, having largely repressed the open publication and sale of Protestant literature in Italy, religious authorities were widening their purview to include all kinds of printed items deemed immoral or licentious. Their attention increasingly fell upon the sort of small printed works carried by pedlars, such as 'superstitious' orations like those confiscated in Venice during the plague, but also little stories (*historiette*) and prognostications. A series of edicts from the Congregation of the Index in Rome instructed local inquisitors to pursue these elusive categories of text—difficult to identify because of the similarity of their titles and the frequent absence of the names of their authors and printers, and easy to hide or destroy.[48] A 1587 treatise by the secretary of the Congregation declared its intention to target a range of popular staples of cheap print such as chivalric tales, songs and orations 'which are sold commonly, and are everyday in the hands of stupid and simple people,'

[47] See Rozzo, 'Pietro Perna'. On the development of censorship, see G. Fragnito, ed., *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 2001).

[48] U. Rozzo, 'I fogli volanti a stampa e censura libraria nel secolo XVI', in *Dal torchio alle fiamme. Inquisizione e censura: nuovi contributi dalla più antica biblioteca provinciale d'Italia*, eds V. Bonani, G.G. Cicco & A.M. Vitale (Salerno, 2005), 51–80. See also Fantini, 'Censura romana'.

but acknowledged that this was 'nearly impossible' as the works were so widely diffused.[49] Meanwhile, although local authorities sometimes resisted enforcing decrees from Rome which they feared would damage the local printing industry, secular bodies such as Venice's blasphemy magistrates did also sometimes target works distributed in the streets that were deemed morally or politically damaging.[50]

Despite the proliferation of regulations dictating what could be printed and sold, there is also the sense in these years that numbers of print pedlars were growing, to the point that it was impossible to ignore them and to allow them to remain unregulated. While the economic condition of much of Italy worsened in the second half of the century, the early 1590s were particularly harsh, with a widespread and very serious famine that sent many onto the roads in search of food. Civic authorities in many cities became particularly concerned with the itinerant population in this period, sometimes ejecting unwanted elements altogether, as Florence did to its 'vagabonds, scoundrels, charlatans and street singers' (*vagabondi, birboni, cantimbanchi, cerretani*) in 1590.[51] In Naples in 1593, an edict of the Archbishop Annibale di Capua complained of the fact that the city was full of 'various sellers and re-sellers of various little stories, songs, booklets and other printed things [... which are] unlicensed, [and] deal not only with obscene things contrary to good morals, but also sometimes are against the dogma of our Holy Catholic Faith'.[52] The Archbishop was particularly concerned by the mobile nature of the sellers, and thus the difficulty of controlling their activity, and declared that they could no longer sell without obtaining a license. The problematic itinerancy of sellers was again highlighted in two edicts issued by the Inquisitor at Tortona in

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[49] Fantini, 'Censura romana', 231, citing the 1587 Discorso intorno all'Indice da farsi de libro proibiti by Vincenzo Bonardo: 'molti libri de romanzi, battaglie, canzoni, historie, barzellette, capitoli, orationi, representationi di Scrittura, libretti spirituali, li quali si vendono communemente, et sono tutto il giorno nelle mani di persone idiote et semplici [...] volerli levare et prohibiere affatto é quasi impossibile per esser divulgatissima questa pratica'.

[50] See, for example, ASV, Esecutori contra la bestemmia, Notatorio, busta 56, vol. 2, c. 147ʳ (29 April 1579): the trial of Antonio Saggion, a pedlar accused of selling some letters printed outside the city dealing with sensitive matters of state.

[51] L. Cantini, *Legislazione toscana, raccolta e illustrata*, 32 vols. (Florence, 1800–1808), 13: 162–3.

[52] Lopez, *Inquisizione, stampa e censura*, 329: 'vi sono anco per questa Città et Diocesi di Napoli diversi venditori et rivenditori di diverse Istoriette, Canzoni, libretti et altre cose stampate, tanto in Napoli come fora Napoli, senza licenza, che trattano non solo di cose oscene et contra bona mores, ma anco alle volte contro i dogmi della nostra Santa Fede Cattholica'.

Piedmont a few years later, prohibiting charlatans, street singers and vaga-
bonds from selling print without a license.[53]

Nevertheless, it is important to note that those in positions of power
were not blind to the fact that print peddling provided a basic income for
many who were scraping to get by in very difficult times. In Naples, for
example, the officials of the Archbishop showed some sympathy towards
the sellers, returning some of the confiscated books that were deemed
acceptable and generally letting them off without punishment for their
transgressions.[54] The secretary of the Congregation of the Index, too, had
recognised that prohibiting cheap works was problematic as it would
'take bread out of the hands of many' ('levarà il pane di mano a molti');
that is, remove the source of earning of many printers and ambulant ven-
dors.[55] Other local authorities were torn between the same conflicting
instincts—between charity and the desire to regulate the print trade.
In Venice, for example, the office of the Provveditori di Comun who over-
saw the guilds overruled a ban by the master printers and booksellers on
unlicensed practitioners, granting an exemption for ambulant sellers of
stories, presumably as an act of charity.[56]

As suggested, attempts to regulate pedlars came also from master print-
ers and booksellers in their guilds. Particularly in the later 16th century
when the number of pedlars seems to have been increasing and in many
Italian cities the printing industry was beginning to decline, the relevant
guilds made concerted efforts to prevent the competition of unlicensed
outsiders who did not pay guild fees, a group which usually included ped-
lars. As soon as the printers' guild came into being in Milan in 1589, for
example, it restricted the trade to members and blocked foreigners from
entry.[57] In Siena, although the stationer's guild did not permit itinerant
sellers to join the guild, it still attempted to regulate them.[58] In early 17th-
century Rome, ambulant vendors of 'little stories, orations, *lunari* and
other booklets usually bound in cardboard' who worked at the fair in
Piazza Navona and around the city were prohibited from selling books
over ten sheets in length.[59] In Florence, by contrast, the *Arte dei medici e*

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[53] Rozzo, 'I fogli volanti', 73.

[54] Lopez, *Inquisizione, stampa e censura*, 149–50.

[55] Bonardo, Discorso intorno all'Indice, cited in Fantini, 'Censura romana', 231.

[56] ASV, Arte dei librai e stampatori, busta 163, registro 1, c. 75ᵛ (15 March 1588).

[57] K.M. Stevens, 'Printers, publishers and booksellers in Counter-Reformation Milan: a
documentary study', PhD thesis (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 43–5.

[58] Gehl, 'The 1615 Statutes'.

[59] M.I. Palazzolo, 'Banchi, botteghe, muricciuoli. Luoghi e figure del commercio del
libro a Roma nel Settecento', in eadem, *Editoria e istituzioni a Roma tra Settecento e*

speziali which incorporated printers and booksellers seems to have been happy to enrol pedlars as long as they paid the relevant fee, which was double for those who came from outside the state (and thus presumably an incentive for poor pedlars to try to evade the guild officials).[60] Guilds of printers and booksellers also strove to prevent representatives of other trades from selling printed goods, as seems frequently to have occurred. In 16th-century Rome, we have seen saw at least one butcher selling print on the side, while a century later the guild there was still trying to stop 'mercers, merchants, secondhand-dealers' (*merciari, mercanti, regattieri*) from selling print.[61] However, since print pedlars frequently sold other kinds of products as well, the distinction between different types of retailers remained blurred and consumers were evidently used to shopping for printed items alongside a variety of other goods.

However, like the higher authorities, the guilds were also capable of showing charity towards needy pedlars. In Venice, the declining fortunes of the print trade meant that the impoverishment of guildsmen became a problem that could not be ignored, and street selling came increasingly to be accepted as a permanent part of the official structure of print distribution.[62] In Florence, the *Arte dei medici e speziali* occasionally wrote to the Duke defending pedlars, as in 1559 when they advocated for a group of miserably poor men caught selling on *feste*. The guild officials claimed that these particular sellers had not received the warning against selling on such days, pointed out how essential this activity was to the pedlars' survival, and argued that 'it is better that they be occupied on these days in selling publicly rather than giving themselves over to living furtively, resulting in greater harm and a worse example'.[63] The Duke agreed to absolve the pedlars. In Siena, the guild of stationers by the early 17th century made provisions for poor pedlars, providing their rector and

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Ottocento. Saggi e documenti (Rome, 1994), 8–10. See also the cases cited in n.11, above. Cf. J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 81–3, on the category of small pamphlets of twelve sheets or less that were sold stitched, frequently by pedlars.

[60] See Salzberg, 'Selling Stories'.

[61] Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai*, 53; Palazzolo, 'Banchi, botteghe', 10. The Florentine guild made similar efforts in 1704, complaining that 'a Firenze ogni rigattiere, ogni rivenditore, ogni bancherottolo e tutti i ferravecchi fanno il libraio'; U. Dorini, *Breve storia del commercio librario* (Milan, 1938), 97.

[62] S. Minuzzi, *Il secolo di carta: Antonio Bosio artigiano di testi e immagini nella Venezia del Seicento* (Milan, 2009); Carnelos, 'Libri da grida'.

[63] ASF, Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, busta 193, c. [6ʳ]: 'è meglio che sieno stati occupati in tali giorni nel vender in pubblico che il darsi per viver furtivamente à maggior danno et più tristo exemplo'.

chamberlain with the power to make exceptions for 'those poor people who wander selling calendars, printed images, saints' lives, or sewn booklets'. These vendors might receive the required license to sell for a reduced fee or without any fee 'on account of their poverty and the small value of the goods they have to sell'.[64] As well as charitable impulses, we can surmise that the guild leaders were also motivated by self-interest in protecting the pedlars who could act as crucial distributors for their works.

By the late 16th century, Italian print pedlars occupied a more clearly circumscribed area of the print market than in the experimental early days of the industry. Despite fears that pedlars were involved in the circulation of prohibited works and disapproval of their indecorous appropriation of public spaces, local authorities usually recognised that pedlars could never be eradicated altogether and increasingly concentrated on attempting to license them or confine them to particular times, spaces or genres of printed material. These attempts helped to more clearly delineate the figure and place of the dedicated print pedlar in urban culture. Even if print pedlars continued to sell other kinds of products as well, a new visual tradition was emerging in this period which suggested an increasingly clear identity, an association between seller and product, in the prints which profiled and categorised the ever-growing array of different 'species' of street traders to be found in Italian cities.[65] But contemporary with these attempts to 'fix' them in their places in the city, print pedlars were also progressively moving beyond the urban sphere and penetrating rural areas, as organised peddling networks began to expand further out of the cities and even over the Alps.[66]

By the later 17th century, Mitelli could satirise the now ubiquitous figure of the print pedlar, loudly hawking an endless stream of bad news to a satiated audience (see Illustration 6.2). However, throughout the 16th century, pedlars and printers experimented with a range of works always trying to find the items that would appeal to a wide public, which caught the eye and the ear of consumers in a crowded marketplace. In this, as we have seen, they sometimes pushed the shifting boundaries of the permissible,

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[64] Gehl, 'The 1615 Statutes', 235.

[65] For the late 16th-century prints of Ambrogio Brambilla which included pedlars of 'libri vecchi', 'nove e avvisi', and 'orationi e figure', see A. Petrucci, 'I venditori ambulanti in una stampa antica', *Capitolium*, 8 (1932), 434–43. See also A. Molinari Pradelli, *Gli antichi mestieri di Bologna nelle incisioni di A. Carracci, G.M. Mitelli e G.M. Tamburini* (Rome, 1984).

[66] See the works cited above, n. 13.

however, pedlars seem rarely to have been inspired by the desire to promote particular ideologies or views but more frequently by the need to survive, and even prosper, by their trade. As time progressed, the range of their wares was established more clearly within the boundaries set up by civic and religious authorities, which probably encouraged them to stick to 'safer' material, such as the religious prints carried by the pedlars from Tesino and Natisone described by Alberto Milano in his essay in this volume.

The examples described above also demonstrate how pedlars in the first century or so after the introduction of the press played a very significant role in helping to foster the close ties between print and oral culture—in the public performance of a war poem or the private oration of a prayer—rendering such texts still more slippery, mobile and difficult to control. Pedlars were crucial to the wide dissemination of print in Italian culture, as they were in a unique position to discern which texts would strike a chord with the public, to offer them quickly, cheaply and conveniently, and to advertise or perform them verbally so that print permeated urban environments.

PEDLARS IN THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1600 TO 1850:
NUISANCE OR NECESSITY?

Jeroen Salman

The Dutch pedlar Egbert Koning (1792–1861) struggled his whole life with
his reputation as a dirt poor and deceitful pedlar, selling cheap books and
other small wares and unable to find a decent job or maintain a shop. His
memoires, published in 1860, were a final attempt to rehabilitate himself.
He presented his life as a religious journey: as a child he had diligently
learned the catechism and subsequently he had frequently avowed his
deep faith; his life and destiny could be compared to that of the biblical
figure Job and he therefore counted his blessings.[1] Koning is one of many
people in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries who tried to earn a living by
selling wares from door to door. He is one of few, however, who reports
about his life and profession. How can we get a glimpse of the lives of all
the others? And how poor was their reputation? Who created images of
pedlars and did they change over time?

In her *History of Pedlars in Europe* (1996), Laurence Fontaine advances
an interesting proposition about the image of these itinerant traders. She
suggests that there was a strong link between the negative image of ped-
lars and the economic threat they posed to the regular book trade in 17th
and 18th century France, which explains why in the 19th century, when the
itinerant trade was in decline, this bad image was neutralised.[2] Empirical
research may allow us to adopt this idea for other European countries too,
but it also confronts us with a curious paradox. While it seems plausible
that commercial success and the hostility of competitors were linked,
there are numerous indications that there was often fertile collabora-
tion between the bookseller and the street vendor. Additionally, the image
of the pedlar was produced not only by fellow booksellers, but also by par-
ties that were not directly connected to their trade. What would their
motives have been? And when we look more closely at the nature of the

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[1] Koning's memoires will be discussed later in this chapter.
[2] L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), 3–4.

multifaceted representations, we must conclude that positive and nega-
tive images were equally distributed. In short, our view of the relationship
between image and reality is still mudded. A systematic analysis of
this phenomenon of image making can further our understanding of
the social-economic and cultural position of the itinerant bookseller in the
early-modern and modern periods. This chapter therefore examines the
wide diversity of attitudes and behaviour towards the pedlar and his or
her trade, focusing on the Netherlands in the period 1600–1850.

In the first part of this chapter I focus on the legal position of the itiner-
ant bookseller, an approach that will include consideration of the actions
of the booksellers' guilds, press control exerted by local and regional
authorities, and court cases in which pedlars were involved. Subsequently,
I turn to literary representations of pedlars, seeking to determine the
extent to which archival evidence and literary depictions concur. A third
line of approach is provided by images pedlars created of themselves. The
small but very informative number of ego documents (i.e. autobiographi-
cal writings) that have come down to us give us access to the social ambi-
tions of pedlars, their responses to repression and their attitudes to the
printed matter they distributed.

Booksellers, Authorities and the Police

The most hostile attitudes to itinerant trade can be found among urban
established booksellers, who were united in guilds. These booksellers were
responsible for the common stereotype of the pedlar as outsider and
unfair competitor in the local market. They reproached street vendors for
buying their printed wares in another city, for violating the rules for local
booksellers and for underselling their books. Another source of irritation
was the street sale of pirate editions and forbidden books that put the
entire publishing business in a bad light.

The concerns of local and regional authorities were rather different
from those of established booksellers. That they often associated singing
songs and hawking cheap material with social misbehaviour such as beg-
gary and vagrancy can be seen in local ordinances against street vendors
issued by Dutch cities in the province of Holland, such as Rotterdam,
Leiden, The Hague and Amsterdam, and in the province of Utrecht, such
as the city of Utrecht. Amsterdam was not only greatest centre of popula-
tion in the Republic, with around 175,000 inhabitants in 1650 and around
235,000 in 1730, but also the centre of Dutch book production and book

trade. In 1650, at the peak of its influence, Amsterdam had around 232 established booksellers and in 1730 around 150. But every city had to deal with street vendors. In placards of 1614 and 1632 produced in Rotterdam (30,000 inhabitants in 1650), hawking, singing and music making were portrayed as vile strategies used by beggars to conceal their real purposes.[3] The greatest concern of local magistrates, however, was the dissemination of political pamphlets and newspapers. In 1648 a statute was issued in Amsterdam against hawking, singing, and displaying and reading songs, prints, newspapers and other printed wares. Infractions would result in the seizure of stock and a fine of six guilders; recidivists had to pay double the penalty and after a third violation legal proceedings would be launched.[4]

The conflicting interests of local, regional or even national authorities limited the effectiveness of legislation in the decentralised Republic. In 1650 William II, stadholder and prince of Orange, who considered himself the most important authority in the country, tried to maintain a strong grip on the publication of news in the province of Holland, but his control at the local level was limited. In Amsterdam, William II's archenemy in those years, Dirk Uijtenbroek, a local bookseller, was forced by the Amsterdam authorities to close his shop because of his publication and distribution of Orangist writings.[5] A local magistrate could thus overrule the stadholder.

From 1660 until 1700 Amsterdam experienced a growth of legislation against the activities of street sellers, as can be read from data gathered from the Amsterdam court records of this period (see Table 1). In the first half of the 17th century the number of itinerant booksellers arrested was only a small proportion of all arrests. By the last decades of the 17th century 20 to 30 percent of itinerants arrested dealt in printed matter. While the number of itinerant arrests continued to grow in the 18th century, the proportion of people arrested for selling printed goods was halved.

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[3] E. Palmen, *Kaat Mossel, helleveeg van Rotterdam. Volk en Verlichting in de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2009), 166–7.

[4] Taken from S. Kemper, 'Colportage in de Republiek. De betekenis van de zeventiende-eeuwse boekkramer', MA thesis, 'Vakgroep Nederlands' (Leiden University, 1989), 34–5.

[5] R. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2011), 102–4; Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, RA, entry no. 308, f.122ᵛ, dd. 9-8-1650.

Table 1.   Itinerant booksellers in the Amsterdam confession books (1616–1729).

	number of detainees	itinerant street sellers detained	itinerants as % of all detainees	itinerant booksellers detained	itinerant booksellers as % of all itinerants detained
1616–1621	1325	17	1.28%	1	5.9%
1640–1645	1590	9	0.56%	0	0
1670–1679	5470	73	1.33%	20	27.4%
1690–1699	5870	144	2.45%	31	21.5%
1720–1729	1900	66	3.47%	8	12.1%

Sources: City Archive Amsterdam, RA, Books of Confession and W.F.H. Oldewelt, 'De zelfkant van de Amsterdamse samenleving en de groei van de bevolking', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 77 (1964), pp. 39–56.

The figures for post-Restoration England are strikingly similar, where growing demand for books went hand in hand with new forms of censorship and licensing controlled by the national government, London magistrates and the Stationers' Company.[6] An explanation for increased control of the press needs to be sought for both England and the Netherlands. Maureen Bell has suggested that the English repression was caused not so much by a rise in the number of pedlars and hawkers as by the growth in the government's perception of a danger stemming from seditious pamphlets, biased newspapers and other political publications.[7] When we look closely at the nature of the anti-press legislation in Holland and Utrecht in the years 1660–80, a similar pattern emerges for the Dutch Republic also,[8] but another explanation, perhaps supplementary, is also

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[6] J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (New Haven & London, 2007), 82–3.

[7] M. Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds: Restoration control of pedlars and hawkers', in P. Isaac & B. McKay, eds., *The Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and Its Impact* (Winchester and New Castle, 2000), 93–4.

[8] I. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag, 1998), 55.

plausible. From 1670 onwards the publishing industry in the Dutch Republic as a whole, although to a lesser extent in Amsterdam specifically, was in decline, with the number of booksellers decreasing from 232 around 1650 to 196 around 1690. Regular booksellers therefore pressed increasingly hard for the authorities to root out the street trade they deemed harmful to their own interests.

A similar economic incentive can be observed after 1750, when the Amsterdam booksellers' guild once more began to press for greater regulation of street sellers and pedlars. In the 1775 edition of the periodical *De Koopman* [The Merchant] some Amsterdam booksellers commented on the decline of the respectable book trade. They fulminated against printers of trashy books who earned their money with *Uilenspiegels* [Owlglasses], but even more so against the growing number of bookstall holders on the locks in the city of Amsterdam, who were not even citizens of the city, let alone guild members. Auctioneers who brought older books into circulation were also undermining the system, because these books were resold by street sellers on bridges. The booksellers insisted that distributors of newspapers deserved more respect than ill-reputed guild members who sold trashy books.[9]

Pedlars were also used as commercial scapegoats in conflicts between booksellers and the state. In 1770, when charged in a proposed placard of the States General with the dissemination of 'blasphemous books and writings', some booksellers in Amsterdam unhesitatingly pointed the finger at the street vendors, claiming that the problem lay with pedlars who, they alleged, bought such books in 'foreign countries' and hawked them in many obscure places in town. Prohibition could never be a solution, because the non-sedentary pedlars would easily be able to circumvent the edict.[10]

Regular printers and booksellers were themselves often involved in activities deemed illegal. According to my research in the criminal records of Amsterdam, at least 11 of the total 230 regular booksellers (4.8%) appeared on the sheriff's roll in the period 1670–1680, accused of printing and distributing forbidden libels, evil writings, illegal almanacs and blasphemous tracts. As a figure indicative of the number of booksellers involved in such illegal production, this number is surely an underestimate. Booksellers and printers could keep a low profile, often hiding

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[9] Anonymous letter in *De Koopman of weekelyksche by-dragen ten opbouw van Neêrlands koophandel en zeevaard*, vol. 5 (1775), no. 15, 119–23.
[10] *Nieuwe Nederlandsche jaerboeken*, part 5 (1770), 798, 806, 842.

behind their accomplices on the streets. In that same decade twenty pedlars were accused of this type of offence in Amsterdam, but only in one
instance did information about a responsible printer – Crispijn (II) van de
Passe – surface.[11]

On occasion, the booksellers' guild did attempt to eradicate abuses
among its own members. These cases make the intertwining of the regular
and irregular book trade very evident. The Amsterdam booksellers Andries
van Damme and Jacobus (I) van Egmont, for instance, were indicted in a
guild request from 1712 for selling pirate editions, yet Van Egmont did not
attempt to conceal his illegal practices and his business links to pedlars,
advertising in the back of his own publications the illegal wares that he
could procure. He acknowledged his guilt, but justified his behaviour by
arguing that he had no other option if he was to keep afloat.[12]

If regular booksellers and guild members were highly dependent on
itinerant traders, why then were they complicit in prolonging the negative
image of the pedlar? Most likely here also commercial motives were
involved. The low social standing and irregular activities of pedlars prevented them from becoming a strong economic force and strengthened
the hand of established booksellers when it came to negotiations over
prices and conditions. Additionally, as already noted, street vendors would
distract the attention of the authorities, censors and the police from illegal
practices initiated by established publishers and booksellers, who were all
too willing to lay the blame on pedlars as the main malefactors. An additional economic motive can also be inferred from the needs of trade communication. Both illicit and authorised authors and booksellers had an
interest in being able to inform local vendors and their potential customers about new products. Rumours, gossip, police actions, trials and the
protestations of the guilds functioned as an unorthodox form of information gathering.

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[11] Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, Criminal Records (*Kopieschoutsrollen*), entry no.
205–207, dd. 17-3-1671 (Jean de Riberolles); 5-10-1673 (Steven Swart / Albert van Panhuijsen);
12-10-1673 (A. van Panhuijsen); 3-12-1675 (Hugo Allard); 12-5-1676 (Pieter Panhuys); 7-7-1676
(Albert van Ruijten); 3-9-1676 (A. van Panhuijsen); 10-8-1677 (Anthony Lescaille); 11-01-1678
(Jan Claesz ten Hoorn); 15-03-1678 (Thimotheus ten Hoorn); 11-07-1679 (Pieter Aartsen);
7-10-1679 (Jacob Rabbi).

[12] I.H. van Eeghen, *De gilden: Theorie en praktijk* (Bussum, 1974), 124–5; I.H. van Eeghen,
De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725 (Amsterdam, 1960–78), vol. 3: 133; M.M. Kleerkooper
& W.P. van Stockum jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de zeventiende eeuw:
Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen* (Den Haag, 1914–16) [=*Bijdragen tot de
geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel*] 10, 848–9; H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam, 1999),
126–7.

But what then of the image of pedlars in the 19th century, when the economic importance of the Dutch pedlars declined? In material from this period we encounter negative comments familiar from earlier centuries. In 1835 booksellers expressed their annoyance in the trade journal *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* [News bulletin for the book trade] about a French travelling bookseller called Felip Andre Canongette, who was selling books at local inns. While Canongette's activities aroused the ire of shop owners, they were not illegal. The patent register of 1839–40, which covers two years, records that Canongette received a formal patent in the cities of Leiden and Utrecht. This patent was in effect a local annual tax for performing economic activities but also functioned as a legal permit.[13]

Booksellers thus still tried to protect their business against abuses, but the world of the print trade had seen an important development – the itinerant adversary was no longer an outsider but had become part of the establishment. This innovation accounts for an 1849 complaint by Utrecht booksellers who claimed that the book trade was losing its dignity; many book pedlars ['boekenslijters'] were now considered 'real' book traders.[14] Although regular booksellers might recognise the benefits of having itinerant colleagues, they also raised objections. In 1862 Frederik Muller, book dealer and antiquarian, noted that street hawkers ('colporteurs') had long had an important share in disseminating literature for 'the lower classes', and cited wheelbarrows filled with almanacs, songs, histories, fairy tales and indecent books. He insisted, however, that these street sellers not interfere in the trade in high literature, where they could do serious harm. Books would drop in price and value because hawkers would 'foster a host of books on people against their will'.[15]

This institutionalisation and professionalisation of the itinerant book trade started with the Napoleonic surveys in the years 1810–13, when the Netherlands were annexed by the French Empire. These surveys register thirty-three 'pedlars with books' or 'colporteurs', although this number must represent just a small portion of a much larger group of pedlars, with many travelling traders surely avoiding registration. Furthermore, the

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[13] *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel*, 2 (1835), nos. 29, 30; in Leiden the value of his wares was 850 guilders. Municipal Archive of Leiden, entry no. 2066, Patentregisters 1839–40; Municipal Archive of Utrecht, SA IV, Registers van patentschuldige kramers, entry no. 6151 (1839–40), no. 589.

[14] *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel*, 1850, no. 1, 6.

[15] F. Muller, 'Volksbibliotheken. Volksletterkunde. Colportage', *Praktische volks-almanak* (1862), 155–72. With my thanks to José de Kruif, who alerted me to this source.

French only took account of pedlars who sold books, neglecting those who offered newspapers, pamphlets and other ephemera.[16] Even with these reservations noted, it remains significant that the position of book pedlars was formalised for the first time.

The system of patent taxes that followed the French surveys made this regularisation permanent. In Leiden, for instance, 55 pedlars were registered in 1816, at least two of whom sold printed wares exclusively; several others probably sold a combination of consumer goods and cultural goods such as books.[17] In 1839–40 the total number of pedlar patents in Leiden had slightly increased, to 61, and included three pedlars who were recorded as selling books exclusively.[18] The development of the regular book trade in Leiden followed the same relatively static pattern: some 32 book firms were registered in Leiden in 1810, with an equal number in 1840.[19] The 1818 Utrecht patent registers record 199 pedlars; with a population of 34,000, Utrecht therefore had one pedlar for every 170 inhabitants.[20] At least one – but perhaps more – of those 199 pedlars sold printed wares. In 1839–40 the number of registered pedlars in Leiden had risen sharply, to 702. We know for sure that seven of this group hawked printed wares.[21] The final stage in the nationwide process of professionalisation was the establishment of an official trade journal, the *Kolporteur* [*The Pedlar*] in 1868; it continued to appear until 1889.[22]

Writers, Poets and their Imagination

The second part of this chapter considers the long tradition of literary representations of pedlars and ballad singers. The material is rich and heterogeneous and is therefore not conducive to categorisation. Furthermore,

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[16] B.P.M. Dongelmans, *Van Alkmaar tot Zwijndrecht. Alfabet van boekverkopers, drukkers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland 1801–1850* (Amsterdam, 1988), 9–25; J.D. Popkin, 'The book trades in Europe during the Revolutionary Era', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78 (1984), 407, 413.

[17] Municipal Archive of Leiden, Register van patentplichtigen, entry no. 2043 (1816).

[18] Municipal Archive of Leiden, Register van patentplichtigen, entry no. 2066 (1839–40).

[19] A. Bouwman, B. Dongelmans, P. Hoftijzer, E. van der Vlis & C. Vogelaar, *Stad van boeken. Handschrift en druk in Leiden 1260–2000* (Leiden, 2008), 295–6.

[20] Municipal Archive of Utrecht, Patentregisters, entry 1007–2, entry no. 5367–5378 (1818).

[21] Municipal Archive of Utrecht, Patentregisters, entry 1007–2, entry no. 6151 (1839–40).

[22] L. Kuitert, '*De Kolporteur* (1868–89). Vakblad voor een gefrustreerde beroepsgroep' in *Geboekt in jaargangen. Anderhalve eeuw boekentijdschriften in Nederland*. Special Issue *De boekenwereld*, 10 (1994), 36–40.

we must take into account poetical conventions and their development as well the publishing strategies of the producers of our source material. And last but not least, we must find a way out of the static and narrow dichotomy of fact and fiction. For pragmatic reasons I have made a somewhat artificial division in the discussion that follows, tackling first more general and nonspecific narrative accounts of pedlars and ballad singers and then the fictionalised lives of pedlars and ballad singers who the sources tell us actually existed. Subdivisions of this second category are determined according to authors who write about pedlars and the pedlars who write about themselves. I confront my findings from sources such as farces, poems, songs and periodicals with archival sources, to see if and how these representations relate to the historical reality.

The Pedlars and the Other

Fictional descriptions of the book business of the 17th century make a sharp distinction between honourable and ill-reputed trade. This approach is illustrated by a satirical pamphlet from 1690 that sought to combat illegal reprints of Descartes' *Principia Philosophia* (1644).[23] In this allegoric text entitled *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus* [*The Story of the Disturbance on Parnasus*], the famous but long-dead Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin explains what has gone wrong:[24] the Dutch translation of Descartes' work had fallen into the grubby hands of two Amsterdam booksellers, Timotheus and Nicolaes ten Hoorn. Until that point, the booksellers' guild had turned a blind eye to the printing and selling of trashy books by these two men, works which were then sold on bridges and canal locks. According to Plantin, the printing of Descartes' work of godly scholarship, however, was reserved for the large publishers. The god Apollo himself was furious about this abuse and warned the Ten

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[23] *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus. Ontstaan over het drukken van de beginselen der wijsbegeerte van den heer Renatus Descartes* (Amsterdam, 1690) (University Library Leiden, KL.GES 154). The *Principia Philosophia* was translated as *Beginselen der Eerste Wijsbegeerte*. A French translation is dated 1647. I wish to thank Inger Leemans for bringing this pamphlet to my attention. See also I. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700* (Nijmegen, 2002), 175.

[24] The author of this pamphlet must have been inspired by a similar English title issued in 1645: *The Great Asssises Holden in Parnassus* (London, 1645). See about this pamphlet and its authorship, J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford 1996), 210–25.

Hoorns that their books would never again be sold by well-known street
vendors.[25] Commentators thus distinguished between, on one hand, large
respectable bookshops and publishing houses and, on the other hand,
networks of small printers and street vendors, whom they scorned.
Members of the latter category were tolerated as long as they stuck to their
objectionable books and did not attempt to enter the domain of exclusive
and scholarly works. Street trade was thus a vehicle for criticism of unwel-
come intruders into the literary field.

The writer of this pamphlet suggests that printers and pedlars collabo-
rated in the illegal or underground press. My database of pedlars reveals
the existence of such a network in Amsterdam at the end of the 17th cen-
tury, when, as we have seen, the reins of official control were tightened.
The network comprised four booksellers and ten pedlars who cooperated
in the market for libels and other political writings, but counter to the sug-
gestion made in the pamphlet discussed above, they were not involved in
the market for respectable books.

In 1698, two female hawkers, Annetie Anthonis de Groot, sixteen years
old, and Aeltie Jacobsdr, offered for sale on the street songs that they had
bought at the shop of Jan Barbe on the Brouwersgracht. A year earlier
Andoris Lambertse van der Kuijde had attended Barbe's bookshop to col-
lect newsletters that he then sold on the streets with his partner. Elias Levi,
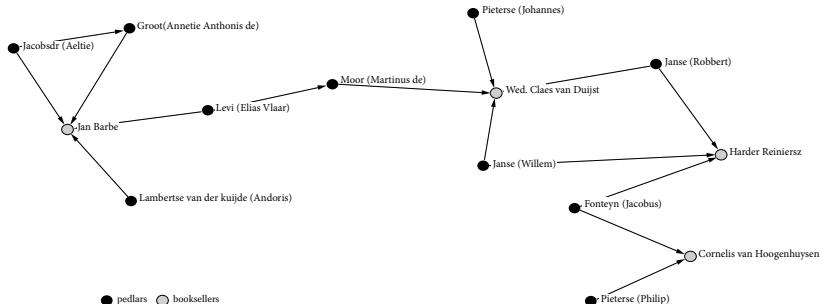
Figure 3.1. Network of booksellers and pedlars, Amsterdam 1690–1707.

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25   Meant are probably Gijsbert de Groot, Johannes (I) Stichter and Gerrit Ewouts or/
and his widow.

a moneychanger by profession, worked in collaboration with the hawker Martinus de Moor, who called himself a button maker. Both sold newsletters in 1692 that were also produced and for sale by Jan Barbe in the 'Gasthuysmolenstraat'. Jan Barbe was apparently a supplier and printer of cheap printing in the 1690s, but neither the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands nor any other source records his name as a regular publisher and / or guild member in this period.[26]

The hawker Martinus de Moor was probably the same person who was arrested in 1702 for selling an anti-Louis XIV 'nouvelle' called *Coninck Lodewijck in de Griekse A tot Delft, op 't Eijndigen der campagnie 1702, en het verbranden van de vloot in Vigos door M.G.V.B.* [King Louis in the Greek A at Delft, at the end of the campaign of 1702 and the burning of the fleet at Vigos], attributed to Jurriaen Bouckart.[27] Martinus de Moor and his partner Willem Janse together purchased approximately 11 to 12 reams of the work; at 500 printed leaves per ream they had 5,500 to 6,000 copies. Initially they paid six stivers per ream, but later, when the pamphlet lost its topicality, they paid only four stivers. Janse and De Moor obtained their material at the shop of the widow of Claes van Duijst, also unknown as a printer and publisher.[28]

Johannes Pieterse, who worked on the night watch, probably operated with Janse and De Moor. Chimney-sweep Robbert Janse purchased copies of the aforementioned pamphlet *Coninck Lodewijck* not only at the shop of Widow Van Duijst but also at the shop of the otherwise-unknown Harder Reiniersz in the Blomstraat. Janse testified that he did so together with three other unnamed hawkers. Perhaps his reference is to Willem Janse, De Moor and Pieterse, who purchased the same title at that location. Janse apparently had a long career as a street vendor, because he was also taken into custody in 1690 for purchasing an unacceptable work.[29] Hawker Jacobus Fonteyn, active somewhat later, also attended the

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[26] See Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 6, and Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen.*

[27] *Coninck Lodewijck in de Griekse A tot Delft, op 't Eijndigen der campagnie 1702, en het verbranden van de vloot in Vigos door M.G.V.B.*. (s.l.s.n., 1702) (National Library, The Hague Kn. No. 14818).

[28] Verkruijsse, *De marskramer*, 11–14; Municpal Archive of Amsterdam, NA, entry no. 4472, f. 1075, dd. 9-12-1702; Kleerkooper & Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, 1255–6.

[29] Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, RA, Criminal Records (*Confesssieboeken*) 335, fol. 168, dd. 14-6-1690; Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, Notarial Archive, entry no. 446. See also Verkruijsse, *De Marskramer*, 11–14; Kleerkooper & Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, 1255–56.

bookshop of Harder Reiniersz, in the years 1705–6. For a work called 'het Nieuwe Lanterlué spel' [The new lanterloo game] – a reference to a card game – he went to Cornelis van Hoogenhuysen,[30] who not only operated at the margins of the local book trade but was also known as a publisher and member of the booksellers' guild. His status did not stop him from selling seditious works such as the forbidden *Antwerpsche courant*. Hawker Philip Pieterse admitted in court in 1707 that he had bought this newspaper for five stivers per ream.[31]

The participants in this Amsterdam network were not dependent solely on each other and worked with different partners, using their freedom of action to buy goods at different addresses. Remarkably, a separate circuit of non-official booksellers, perhaps bookbinders or just printers, had an important role in supplying the street trade. Like the pedlars, this group of semi-official booksellers occupies a blind spot in book history research.

Let us turn to our fictional sources. The pedlar in plays, poems and prose works often had a commercial and advertising function, bridging the gap between text and audience. His image is employed to signal the diverting nature of a certain work or to address the intended audience. One example that is both comical and commercial is found in a 1708 farce with the title *De zingende kraamer of vermaakelyke Krispyn* [The Singing Pedlar or Entertaining Krispyn], written by Jacobus Rosseau and published by Niklaas Dor in Amsterdam.[32] The pedlar Krispyn is the central character in this play, taking his wares from door to door and singing occasional songs. The author has an ironic take on the social position of the pedlar, but Krispyn himself emphasises that he is a respectable man with an honest profession, dealing in valuable goods. The text is riddled with references. The dozens of titles of real and printed popular songs and street ballads shot through the play make up, as it were, a fictionalised catalogue of street literature. Krispyn tells the reader that a printed catalogue of his works is available in a 'book stall on Katenburg'. Interestingly, he also informs the reader about his colleague Pieter de Vos, alias Kleyn Jan (Small John), a ballad seller who could be found on the Buttermarket

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[30] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, 3: 161; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer*, 8–14. Lanterloo is an old game played with five or three cards dealt to each player from a full pack. When five cards are used the highest card is the knave of clubs or, if so agreed, the knave of trumps. See <http://dictionary.die.net/lanterloo> [22 Jan. 2013].

[31] Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, 3: 161; Verkruijsse, *De marskramer*, 9–10.

[32] The play saw many reprints; see, for example, an edition from 1786: National Library, The Hague, 1124 F 94.

(now Rembrandt Square) in Amsterdam on Mondays.[33] But Krispyn does not fail to assure his audience that his songs are both more substantial and cheaper than those of Small John:

> Want ik heb lietjes ook te koop, dat moetje weten,
> Ja meer als die vend die *Pieter de Vos*, of *Kleyns Ian* werd geheeten
> Dog ik geefze goet kooper; Schoon dat hy 'er mee langs Straad kruyd,
> Zo moetje hem altyde een oortje voor 't stuk geeven, en ik geef de kust en keur voor een duyt.[34]

> Cause me too, do you know, I've got songs to sell
> Yes quite some more that that fellow called Pieter de Vos or Small John
> Mine are cheaper, 'though he pushes his barrel as well,
> I've got value for money, while he's having you on.

Although we cannot always be certain that these characters actually existed, that street vendors were established local fixtures is well established. In Amsterdam, pedlars and street singers might sell their wares for decades at the same location. By the end of the 17th century Apollonia Jacobs and Neeltje Claas had steadily occupied their position on the 'Sparendammer Bridge' in Amsterdam for twenty years and attracted a loyal audience.[35]

Comic theatre entertained, but it was also used to advertise printed and oral news. In a play published at the end of the 18th century called *Joris, Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje* [George, Pete and droll Kryn with his pack], the pedlar Kryn airs his grievances about the lack of customers in a tavern.[36] He is so desperate that he would even offer his pack to the devil if it would make him instantly rich. When his friends George and

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[33] R. Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium; Straatzangers in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, 97 (1984), 424–5. About Pieter de Vos: K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (Den Haag, 1941). Available on the DBNL website, <http://www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=vos_026> [22 Jan. 2013].

[34] *De zingende kraamer of vermaakelyke Krispyn* [The Singing Pedlar or Entertaining Krispyn] written by Jacobus Rosseau and published by Niklaas Dor in Amsterdam in 1708, 8–10. The play was reprinted often. See, for example, an edition from 1786, NL The Hague, 1124 F 94. In a comedy by Jacobus Rosseau with the title *De Booter-markt, Klugtspel.* […] [The Buttermarket, Farce] (Amsterdam: Jacobus Rosseau, 1718), 'Kwantzelaar' (Spender) 'Kraamer' (Pedlar) and 'Rotkeel' the 'Liedzanger' (Sore-throat the Singer) play a dubious part. It is very likely that 'Rotkeel' is a reference to Pieter de Vos.

[35] J. Salman, '"Vreemde loopers en kramers." De ambulante boekhandel in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 8 (2001), 81, 96.

[36] *Joris, Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje, in de borrel winkel van lobbige Griet. Gedrukt voor minnaars van't vermaak* (s.l.s.n., [end 18th, early 19th century]) (National Library, The Hague: 174 K 37:7).

Pete enter the tavern full of curiosity, they ask Kryn about his farcical adventures; Kryn responds by telling them of his experiences at a fair.[37] The central message conveyed in this play is that the pedlar is a source of news equal to any printed version. The database of pedlars and their wares that I have assembled suggests that printed news was indeed the second most numerous product disseminated by Dutch pedlars, namely, more than 20 percent of all genres (see Table 2).

Table 2.   Categorisation of Dutch pedlars' supply, 1600–1850.

genre	number	%
entertainment	158	35.19
news	91	20.27
unknown	83	18.49
missing	62	13.81
practical	17	3.79
religious	16	3.56
didactic	14	3.12
historical	6	1.34
informative	2	0.45
total	449	100

Source: Salman database of Dutch pedlars 1600–1850

One strategy adopted by pedlars as the street trade became increasingly commercial was to discredit their competitors, fellow pedlars, writers and booksellers alike. This battle of the street was fought openly in the work of Amsterdam hack writers such as Jacobus Rosseau and Jan van Gysen.[38] Both Rosseau and Van Gyzen were important players in the market for printed news. Van Gysen's fame rested on his newspapers the *Antwerpsche*

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[37] *Joris, Piet en koddige Kryn met zyn marsje.*
[38] Ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid*, 191.

courant [Antwerp Courier] and the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* [Amsterdam Mercury]. Both papers were coveted merchandise for street vendors and pedlars.[39] Rosseau attacked Van Gysen's comfortable position in the market for popular political periodicals with his *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche postryder* [New Amsterdam Post], founded in 1717,[40] an initiative Van Gysen considered a stab in the back by his former pupil. In the *Amsterdam Mercury* he fulminated against Rosseau, who apparently wanted to destroy his successful periodical. Rosseau reacted with apparent surprise and condemned Van Gysen's excessive reaction.[41] As the spat continued, both men tried to bring on board on their own side the hawkers who distributed these periodicals, referring to 'my' or 'your' hawkers, as if these street sellers were in their direct employ. Van Gysen, for instance, denounced Rosseau for gathering from Van Gysen's pedlars information that he then turned into burlesque stories that filled his periodical, apparently suggesting that this information had been simply stolen from him. Rosseau retorted that he had wanted to consult the hawkers of the *Amsterdam Mercury* but had noticed that they were just as angry as their master Van Gysen. There is an implication here that hawkers were masters of the street and that it was important for hack writers to have them on side.

Having repudiated the opponent, the next step was to recommend one's own goods indirectly. In the *Singing Pedlar* Krispyn displays, in addition to mirrors, pencils and pipe boxes, about one hundred songs and a full stock of texts, clownish and pornographic but also philosophical. Here fiction overlaps reality, because the titles mentioned were indeed available. With the 'Historien' of 'Jan van Plug en Kaat de Brakkin', the author refers to *De vryagie van Jan de Plug en Caat de Brakkin* [The courtship of Jan de Plug and Caat de Brakkin], an erotic farce from 1691–92 that has a Cartesian

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[39] J. Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat. Pamfletten en couranten in het vroegmoderne distributienetwerk', in J. de Kruif, M. Meijer Drees & J. Salman, eds., *Het lange leven van het pamflet. Boekhistorische, iconografische, literaire en politieke aspecten van pamfletten, 1600–1900* (Hilversum, 2006), 65–6.

[40] R. Beentjes, '"En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen." Een verslag van twaalf jaar lief en leed in *Jan van Gysens Weekelykcsche Amsterdamsche Merkuuren* (1710–1722)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 17 (1994), 12. Beentjes suggests that Rosseau is also the author of the *Amsterdamsche marsdrager*, but has no evidence. For Van Gysen see also Salman, 'Het nieuws op straat', 65–6.

[41] J. van Gysen, *Jan van Gysens 30ste Maandaagse Amsterdamsche Merkurius; Verhaalende op een Boertige Wys, 't voornaamste Nieuws door heel Europa* (Amsterdam: Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1718); J.R. [Jacobus Rosseau] *Antwoord van de Post-ryder, op Jan van Gyzens 30ste Merkurius* (Amsterdam: Jacobus (I) van Egmont, 1718) (National Library The Hague, 556 J 4 [vol. 7, after no. 30]).

twist and references to the controversial preacher Balthasar Bekker.[42] The play also contains a reference to the first French pornographic novel, *L'Ecole des filles* (1655), which Krispyn terms the 'Chinese almanac', a common allusion at the time.[43] Rosseau also took the opportunity to advertise his own more recent writings, such as *Medea* from 1722 and *Helsche Kermis* [Fair from Hell] from 1718.[44]

The Rotterdam pedlar Francois van der Linden (1649?-1743) has been the subject of much biographical description. Van der Linden was active in the first half of the 18th century and is remembered in particular as the subject of satirical pamphlets and a full-length watercolour portrait.[45] This latter depiction shows a man with a tiny head under an immense hat and a thick mop of hair. His slightly bent body, packed in an enormous coat, is out of proportion with his small head. The drawing and the caption inform us that this is 'Frans the spectacle seller' selling combs, spectacles and almanacs. The pamphlets contain brief verses and epitaphs that imply that Van der Linden had recently died, although this was not in fact the case. The goal of these pamphlets was make a mockery of the pedlar because of his intended legacy. The verses are signed with the initials of their still-unknown authors. What is clear, however, is that Van der Linden is portrayed very unfavourably, as lonely, miserly and stupid and as a loan shark. One typical verse reads,

> Hier leit Franciscus vander Linden.
> Hy is gestorven zonder vrinden,
> Nu zal 't gewormte hem verslinden.
>   S.S.

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[42] *De zingende Kraamer*, 71. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 189–91, 245–7. I would like to thank Inger Leemans for drawing my attention to this reference.

[43] 'En wat me daar zamen uytvoerde, dat behoef ik niet te snakken, / Dat staat genoegzaam bekend in de Cineesche Almanakken.' [And I shan't have to rant on what we did together / just consult the Chinese almanacs or books of the weather] *De zingende kraamer*, 32. See Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, 105–6, 153–4. The key for this allusion is in the hearing in 1768 by the Court of Holland of the pedlar Matthijs van Mordechay Cohen, Municipal Archive of The Hague, RAZH, Hof van Holland 1428–1811, entry no. 5493.16. Criminal papers, dated 15 Dec. 1768.

[44] *De zingende kraamer*, 71–4.

[45] Three slightly different editions are known: *Tombe en grafschriften voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam en brilkramer overleden te Rotterdam* ([Rotterdam?], *c.* 1742) (National Library, The Hague, Knuttel 17351); *Tombe en grafschriften voor Francois van der Linden, Vermaerd Kam- en Brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk* (*c.* 1742) (National Library, The Hague, Knuttel 17532); *Tombe en grafschriften, voor Francois van der Linden, vermaerde kam- en brilkramer; overleden te Rotterdam. Tweede en vermeerde druk. Met een korte levensbeschryving* (*c.* 1742) (National Library, The Hague, Knuttel 17352a).

> Here lies Francois van der Linden
> He died without any friends
> Now the worms will devour his body.

Paradoxically this pedlar with humble roots had become wealthy during his lifetime, accumulating a fortune in bonds with a nominal value of 25,850 guilders (some 234,000 euros in today's money), although by the time of his death his bonds were worthless. He also owned a tomb in the St. Laurentius Church in Rotterdam worth 30 guilders and a letter of credit worth 300 guilders. He owned some paltry pieces of furniture that included an old cupboard, a reading desk, three wooden boxes, eight chairs and one mirror and also some old clothes to peddle.[46]

His critics ridiculed Van der Linden not for losing his fortune but for exploiting his wealth for what they considered self-glorification. His will, written in 1731, provided the ammunition for his critics,[47] for Van der Linden's wishes with respect to his funeral and his memory were lavish. His funeral was to take place with all possible pomp – eight coaches, bier, candles and music. Bells were to be tolled for two weeks after his funeral and every year on the anniversary of his funeral a mass was to be held in his memory. The aforementioned church tomb was reserved for twenty-five years. His legacy was intended to support not only his own spiritual welfare, but also the destitute and the church. His post-mortem charitable engagement was to take the form of bread distributed to the poor and treats to their children. He also bequeathed 600 guilders to the Steigers Church for a pulpit; the remainder of his estate was left to the poor.

Francois Waarts, the notary in charge when the will was drawn up in 1731, probably leaked its contents to a group of writers known to him. The pamphleteers considered Van der Linden's wishes arrogant, adding them to their existing contempt for his infamous profession, precarious lifestyle and rejection of his roots. Their particular gripe was that his behaviour was far out of keeping with his social status. Their intention was to make a laughing stock of their subject.

The second, enlarged edition of the pamphlet contains a short biography, but it too was written by the satirists, and therefore we must be wary about its reliability. According to that account, Van der Linden had been born in the Flemish town of Bruges. As a young man he made a poor

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[46] C.W. van Voorst van Beest, *De katholieke armenzorg te Rotterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Den Haag, 1955), 93.

[47] Municipal Archive of Rotterdam, NA, entry no. 1836, f. 290, document 96, dd. 28-02-1731.

decision when he decided to become a trader rather than a priest, against the advice of his parents. He wandered around Brabant with his pedlar's wares, fooling his customers. Having made too many enemies, he left Brabant and ended up in Rotterdam, where he married a wealthy woman and after her death loaned his inheritance at usurious interest rates. Although he continued to work, he moved into a home for the elderly, paying there with his own money for lifelong board and care. He died in the home having reached the ripe age of 94 years.[48]

The Pedlar and His Self-Representation

How did pedlars themselves judge their role in the book trade and in society as a whole? What were their aspirations and dreams, and how did they respond to critical and satirical attacks? Source material that allows us to access such self-reflection is not abundant, but there are sufficient private notes from this period, including diaries, autobiographies, and biographies, for us to be able to begin to craft an answer to these questions.

Egbert Koning reflected on his life in an autobiographical work with the title *True history of my life, by Egbert Koning, who has written and published this book at the age of 68 years* (1860).[49] The Amsterdam ballad singer Kees Meijer (1818–85) reveals the story of his life partly in his own songs.[50] And Johannes van 't Lindenhout described his adventures in 1888 under the title *After twenty-five years: memories.*[51] We cannot expect such works to contain undiluted accounts of the pedlar experience. Fictionalised elements and tendentious memories are surely part of their narrative, and it is impossible to verify all the material they contain. We must understand these writings not as reliable historical accounts, but as a reflection of how their authors wanted to be remembered.

The struggle for survival is one of the principal features of the recorded lives of pedlars. To reduce risk, they filled their packs with a large variety

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[48] Van Voorst van Beest, *De katholieke armenzorg te Rotterdam*, 93.

[49] *Ware beschrijving wegens den levensloop van mij Egbert Koning, door wie dit boek zelf is gemaakt en uitgegeven in den ouderdom van 68 jaar* (s.l.s.n., 1860) (University Library Leiden BGWMNL), 22, 63, 75, 77. See *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst*, R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf & R. Dekker, eds. (Rotterdam, 1993), no. 474.

[50] H.F. Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer (1818–1885)', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum*, 61 (1969), 167.

[51] Johannes van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren: levensherinneringen* [*After twenty-five years. Memories*] (Nijmegen, 1888).

of goods; very few pedlars offered printed books exclusively. Despite that large assortment, their income from selling door to door was often so low that they were forced to combine activities or move from one profession to another. The Dutch pedlar Koning experimented with sundry jobs including labourer, farmer, butcher, shop owner, haberdasher, poet and pedlar.

If a pedlar did specialise in the sale of printed wares, it was crucial that he was able to inform his customers about the titles he had available. Some pedlars-poets who wrote and sold their own material might do so by adding a publication list on the last page of their work. Others probably promoted their works – in Koning's case, songs, poems, New Year's prints, a chronicle and his autobiography – face to face with their customers. For Koning, who lived in Spanbroek in the north of Holland, it was often cheaper to assign his own writings to a nearby printer than to stock up on the works of others in Amsterdam.

Although pedlars were to a certain extent autonomous, they still needed a network of informants, authors, printers, booksellers and fellow pedlars. The bible pedlar Johannes van 't Lindenhout sometimes paid for his board and lodging with a book, but he might also receive accommodation as a mark of friendship. Friendship and trust were indeed crucial in this uncertain and at times dangerous business. In the attempt to avoid being robbed or even killed while travelling, pedlars might loan their money to friends, collecting it again on the return leg of their travels.[52]

The move to self-representation also stemmed from the desire for a good reputation. Itinerants were well aware of the low status of their profession and did all they could to escape from the often-miserable street trade. Koning started a grocery store as a first step up the social ladder, and later he also became a farmer, but in spite of such attempts to lead an ordinary sedentary existence, in the long run peddling proved to be his only stable source of income.

The positive image of the pedlar as preacher and moral messenger had a long tradition. In 16th-century literature and in paintings such as Hieronymus Bosch's *Pedlar*, we find the itinerant trader depicted as a repentant sinner and follower of Christ.[53] The 19th-century pedlars we know from their autobiographies often tried to justify their behaviour in retrospect or to give their lives spiritual meaning. The Amsterdam ballad

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52 Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, 100.

53 E. de Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch. De symboliek van de Hooiwagen-triptiek en de Rotterdamse* Marskramers-*Tondo verklaard vanuit Middel-Nederlandse teksten* (Den Bosch, 2001).

singer Kees Meijer viewed himself as a priest-apostle. He had first had a respectable career as a cook, hotelkeeper and alderman in Doorwerth. Still, he did not consider singing on the street a demotion, but rather a late calling. Meijer sacrificed his comfortable life and ended up in an Amsterdam lodging house in the Devil's Corner (Land van Beloftensteeg 12), a place that is often considered the Amsterdam equivalent of London's Grub Street.[54]

The 19th-century bible pedlar Johannes van 't Lindenhout was very explicit about his religious intentions and saw his work in the streets as a God-given mission. Although he had been destined to run his father's farm in Beuningen, he decided to sell bibles and become a preacher, believing strongly that the word of God could not be spread better than by selling Christian books and bibles from door to door.[55] With an astute business sense, Van 't Lindenhout took Protestant denominational differences into account: in Gardenen, for instance, people did not want the 'modern' bibles of the British and foreign bible community and in Putten every household already had a bible.[56] He was aware that some people rejected his personal religious preferences – he was a follower of Hendrik de Cock – and would not allow him at their door. Interestingly, although known to be Protestant, he was referred to as the 'boekenjood' [the book-jew].[57]

Van 't Lindenhout also considered his work a crusade against bad reading. He was furious when he discovered that people near Beekbergen read 'poisoning novels' that they found among old paper in the paper factory. He himself refused to sell popular books like *Tijl Uilenspiegel* and *Genoveva*.[58]

History brought Van 't Lindenhout renown. In 1863 with his wife, Hendrina Sipman, he started near Nijmegen a Protestant orphanage, Neerbosch, which still exists today. As a reaction against cheap pulp literature, he set up a printing shop for the production and distribution of Protestant periodicals and for the training of young compositors and printers;[59] the shop thrived for some 30 years. Where pedlars in earlier periods had always been associated with cheap and popular books,

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54 Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse liedjeszanger Kees Meijer', 167.
55 Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, 85–6.
56 Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, 105–7.
57 Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, 95.
58 Van 't Lindenhout, *Na vijf-en-twintig jaren*, 102, 123.
59 Neerbosch is now known as 'Kinderdorp Neerbosch'. For the printing shop, see M. Altena, 'Een drukkerij van Weeskinderen. Johannes van 't Lindenhout en de weeshuis-drukkerij "Neerbosch" te Nijmegen (1870–1903)', *De Boekenwereld*, 13 (1996–7), 49–53.

19th-century pedlars like Van 't Lindenhout often strived for a position in the trade in higher-class works.

Conclusion

The repression and negative images of pedlars created by guilds and political authorities was for a large part motivated by economic and political interests. The guilds feared competition and local and regional governments feared political conflict and social disorder. Booksellers' guilds also used the pedlars as scapegoats for abuses in the book trade and the ever-increasing loss of respectability. The booksellers' guilds did not, however, always send out a negative message. They did not want the streets cleared of all pedlars but rather strived for greater regulation of pedlars and their activities. They directed their efforts mainly at pedlars who bought their wares outside the city or tried to intrude into the market for respectable and expensive books. Booksellers even profited indirectly from rumours about illegal street trade, because such accounts functioned as an unorthodox form of trade communication. Forbidden wares could not be advertised through regular channels such as newspaper advertisements, but a search of literary works such as farces, songs and pamphlets reveals that they were used by authors, publishers and pedlars to promote their work and to inform readers about points of sale and specialist sellers.

In the 19th century regular booksellers had to adapt to new circumstances. Within certain limits, peddling became increasingly formalised, first under the French authorities and subsequently the Dutch. The former enemy had now been officially incorporated into the commercial establishment, and sedentary booksellers could only point at abuses within the business itself. Market communication had to be organised within the new legal structures. The sedentary booksellers tried to protect and promote their products by creating a division between the elite and popular segments of the book market.

Local and regional authorities were also ambivalent in their attitude towards the itinerant book trade. On the one hand, they wanted to restrict itinerant traders who disseminated material that might undermine the state. On the other hand, they wanted to prevent social disorder and therefore preferred street trade over beggary and thievery, one reason that they sometimes felt the need to protect pedlars against the charges of the booksellers' guilds. Autobiographical accounts of pedlars in the late 18th and

19th centuries provide evidence that pedlars were very much aware of their vulnerable position in society. They acknowledged their dependence on support from both the political authorities and the booksellers and as a result sought to justify their work and to emphasise their beneficial role in society, whether as poet-priests, entertainers or honest businessmen.

CHAPTER FOUR

'SELLING PRINTS FOR THE REMONDINI':
ITALIAN PEDLARS TRAVELLING THROUGH EUROPE DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Alberto Milano

From the beginning of the 18th century and for more than 150 years the Remondini, Italian publishers and printers in Bassano del Grappa, a small city to the north of Padova, flooded Europe with millions of devotional, decorative and historical prints. Their success was founded primarily on a modern market-oriented approach and a well-oiled organisation that controlled all stages of production, from paper manufacture to sales catalogues. A key element in this well-articulated strategy was widespread distribution carried out by thousands of pedlars who originated from two Alpine regions: Tesino, an upland plain of the Valsugana valley joining Trento and Bassano and approximately 50 kilometres from Bassano itself, and the Natisone valleys, from Cividale del Friuli to the Slovenian border, 150 kilometres from Bassano.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Tesino was part of the 'Contea del Tirolo' (Tyrol) and after the short Napoleonic age again became part of the Austrian Empire until conquered by the Italian army in 1915. The Natisone valley belonged to the Venetian Republic until 1797, was then part of the Austrian Empire, and in 1866 became part of the Kingdom of Italy. As was often the case in Alpine regions, agricultural production in these valleys was limited and their inhabitants had in common a need to supplement their income, which they did through seasonal and complementary work.[1] More distinctive was their geographical location, at the border of the Austrian Empire and Venice. Inhabitants of both the Tesino and Natisone valleys had experience going back several centuries in trading in diverse goods in other European countries and were able to use

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[1] On the history of pedlars, see R. Chartier & H.-J. Lüsebrink, *Colportage et lecture populaire: imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVIe-XIXe siècles: actes du colloque des 21–24 Avril 1991, Wolfenbüttel* (Paris, 1996); L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Durham, 1996).

languages other than their native tongue, a vital component of their ability to trade further afield.[2]

This article will show that these pedlars were not isolated figures with their travels individually orchestrated but were part of a well-organised network for the distribution of popular prints. This argument supports the position outlined in the introduction of this volume, which also questions the reputedly marginal position of itinerant booksellers. The commerce of these Italian pedlars was far from casual; it was based on experience accumulated by many generations of families who formed a large proportion of the inhabitants of these valleys. For very many years they regarded all of Europe, and even other continents, as a potential market, irrespective of the distances they needed to cover to reach their point of sale. The approximate distances from the valleys to the main cities where Tesini and Natisone pedlars developed their commerce were Augsburg, 400 km, Vienna, 500 km, Budapest, 600 km, Paris, 1,000 km, Amsterdam, 1,300 km, Warsaw, 1,400 km, and Moscow, 2,600 km.

Furthermore, this chapter will throw light on the gradual transition from pedlars who wandered from town to town to pedlars who established shops and publishing companies in many European cities. Publishers born in Tesino established an organised network that reached from Paris to London, from Augsburg to Amsterdam, and from Vienna to Moscow. The influence that this network had on the print market has been under-recognised and underestimated in histories of printing. Both the Remondini trade and the Tesini market became, however, increasingly peripheral after the 1820s, as the public that had eagerly bought their prints a century earlier decreased in size and as tastes changed.

Pioneering Research

On 21 December 1790 the administrator of the parish of Grosskarol in present-day Romania noted the death on 5 January that year of Mattia Scrignaro, an Italian born in Azzida, a village in the vicinity of S. Pietro al Natisone. Scrignaro was a print trader or, according to the Latin formula used in the document, 'cum sociis imagines circumferentem ac vendentem' (persons going around selling with companions).[3] On 13 October 1792

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[2] On itinerant commerce in the Trentino country, see C. Malerba, *Commercio ambulante: una formula distributiva sempre moderna, una storia di cultura, di umanità, di economia* (Trento, 1997). The reference to the Tesino valley is at 194–216.

[3] See D. Ruttar & A. Zanini, eds., *Guziranje: dalla Schiavonia veneta all'Ongheria con le stampe dei Remondini* (Comune di Stregna, 2009), 345.

Joseph Zanna, a print dealer from Brussels, dedicated to the rulers of Holland a view of the Friendship Temple in the park at Scoonenberg, a copperplate of refined taste that had been published in London as a joint edition by the firm Colnaghi & Co. and Sebastiano Tessari, a publisher based in Augsburg but, like Zanna, a native of Tesino (see Figure 4.1).

These two closely contemporaneous events are apparently very far removed from each other in terms of geography and social milieu. But both cases involved print traders hailing from Alpine valleys in Italy who, with differing fortunes, had travelled the length and breadth of Europe carrying out their profession. The reconstruction of the complex history that sometimes saw print pedlars transformed into dealers, merchants and publishers involves many successive generations of families who lived in the 18th and 19th centuries and many thousands of people who left their native valleys of the Tesino and the Natisone to establish themselves in almost all the nations of Europe.

Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that the reconstruction of a phenomenon as highly structured as that of the pedlars has taken decades of research. That research involved various types of documentary sources that are not easy to trace and have unusually wide horizons. Only because

Figure 4.1. *View of the Temple of Friendship*, coloured copper engraving, S.Le Febre. del.t, W. Byrne sculp.t, London Colnaghi & c., à Augsburg chez Tessari & Comp., à Bruxelles chez J. Zanna, 1792. Private Collection.

of such robust preliminary work that identified facts, relationships and individuals who had previously been completely unknown or forgotten are we now in a position to attempt a synthesis that does not neglect crucial sources and features. A number of the significant steps that have contributed to our increased knowledge of this important print trade is outlined here.

In 1972 the exhibition *Stampe per via* held in Bassano del Grappa, Trento and Pieve Tesino, accompanied by a catalogue by Bruno Passamani and Elda Fietta, opened up new possibilities for research into the print trade carried out by the inhabitants of the Tesino uplands.[4] Passamani and Fietta considered not only prints produced by the Remondini publishers from Bassano del Grappa, principal merchandise for a century and a half, but also prints published by traders from Tesino who in the last quarter of the 18th century gave birth to their own particular business in many non-Italian cities. This 1972 exhibition was followed in 1987 by the publication of research by Elda Fietta that was based on personal interviews with family members of the last generation to carry out the trade of their forefathers and on original documentation; Fietta employed an innovative interdisciplinary method in reconstructing the habits and itineraries of the pedlars.[5]

It has also been possible to take advantage of what has been discovered in the meanwhile about prints produced by the Remondini and, drawing on research on the prints themselves, the type of images that were normally sold by pedlars. In 1980 the work of Mario Infelise made available new and accurate data for the pre-industrial dynasty of the Bassano printers.[6] This study was followed in 1990 by an exhibition entitled *Remondini, un editore del settecento*, curated by Infelise and Paola Marini, which examined for the first time the many facets of Bassano's enormous production, drawing comparisons with the contemporaneous production of competitors in France, Germany and England.[7] The exhibition *Les hommes des images*[8] held in 1998 in Geneva, and the international

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[4] B. Passamani, *Stampe per via, l'incisione dei secoli XVII-XIX nel commercio ambulante dei tesini* (Trento, 1972). See also G. Barioli, *I Remondini, calcografi stampatori bassanesi* (Bassano, 1958).

[5] E. Fietta Ielen, *Con la cassela in spalla, gli ambulanti del Tesino* (Ivrea, 1987).

[6] M. Infelise, *I Remondini di Bassano, stampa e industria nel Veneto del Settecento* (Bassano, 1980).

[7] M. Infelise & P. Marini, eds., *Remondini, un editore del Settecento* (Milano, 1990). See also C.A. Zotti Minici, *Le stampe popolari dei Remondini* (Vicenza, 1994); A.W.A. Boschloo, *The Prints of the Remondini* (Amsterdam, 1998).

[8] I. Sega, ed., *Les Hommes des images, l'epopea dei Tesini dal Trentino per le vie del mondo* (Trento, 1998).

S. I. E. F. BILDLORE convention held in Trento and Tesino on the subject 'Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries',[9] further helped fit the story of the Italian pedlars into the wider European context of the production, sale, distribution and consumption of images. The recent study *Guziranje*, edited by Donatella Ruttar and Alba Zanini, has provided original and indispensable insight that completes our overview of the Remondini print sellers by looking at the pedlars who originated from Natisone and that region of eastern Europe.[10] All these efforts have provided material and premises that are fundamental to the newly built Museo PER VIA in Pieve Tesino, which opened in July 2013 and is dedicated to the life and history of the pedlars.

Organisation of the Print Trade: Archival Evidence

As we seek to quantify the pedlar phenomenon in the Tesino and the Natisone valleys, several types of preserved documents have proved indispensable. On 3 July 1781 the parish priest of S. Pietro al Natisone listed 39 of his parishioners in the towns and villages of the valleys who were print pedlars.[11] The pedlars acquired their merchandise from an agent of the Remondini publishers who was established in S. Pietro al Natisone by 1766 and carried out their trade by travelling from town to town and village to village in Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania, for example. In 1781 these 39 pedlars were the heads of 39 companies that, depending on their business and itinerary, might travel with between 1 and 3 colleagues, bringing the total number of pedlars in that parish in that one year to more than 100.

A few days earlier similar records had been compiled by the archpriests of Tesino and Strigno.[12] The lists had been put together at the request of the Remondini, who intended to use them to demonstrate to the magistrates of the Republic of Venice the extent to which the economy of those mountain communities was closely connected to their publishing business, hoping that they would be granted privileges as a result. At that date the number of company heads from Tesino totalled 300, spread across the

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[9] A. Milano, ed., *Commercio delle stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Rovereto, 2008).
[10] Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*.
[11] Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 341.
[12] C. Rossi, 'I perteganti tesini', in Sega, ed., *Hommes des images*, 38.

various villages of the valley.[13] It can be deduced that in 1781 at least 1000 people in Tesino and Natisone were directly involved in the travelling trade in prints. This figure represents a remarkable proportion of an active population of only a few thousand people. The data recorded for the year 1781 are not exceptional; the numbers remained relatively constant in the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th century, which means that many thousands of people were part of this community of print pedlars over the centuries. For so many people to be involved over so many years suggests that the neglect of pedlars in accounts of distribution is unwarranted.

The thousands of print pedlars were not a marginal presence within the wider market made up of shops, warehouses, publishers and traders. It is impossible to establish what proportion of total print production was sold by these print pedlars, but various pointers now suggest that it may have been sizeable.[14] This premise is supported by the prevalence of markets that took place at regular intervals and on specific dates in many European towns, both large and small, until at least the end of the 19th century. That print pedlars were a regular presence at these markets is well documented, and would have ensured regular sales in both town and country.

Further arguments that bolster this theory are found in the buying habits of the less prosperous, for these consumers were more likely to give their custom to street sellers than shops, and in the very fact that an extremely large number of people were involved in this work and made their living from this trade. The Remondini could also count on their directly owned shops in Bassano and Venice and on those of their agents in Italy and abroad, but figures available for analysis suggest that the pedlars' sales contributed a significant proportion, perhaps 30 percent, of the Remondini's turnover.[15] This percentage increases when the calculation is restricted to specific types of print, such as devotional works or works that

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13 C. Rossi, 'Il commercio ambulante', in Infelise & Marini, eds., *Remondini*, 337–9, at 339. The list includes numbers for each village in the valley: 86 for Pieve Tesino, 24 for Cinte Tesino, 69 for Castello Tesino, 8 for Strigno, 72 for Bieno, 17 for Samone, 9 for Spera, 5 for Scudelle, and 4 for Villa and Agnedo.

14 Infelise, *I Remondini di Bassano*, 114–18.

15 The Remondini shop in Pieve Tesino, which contained stock for pedlars leaving from that valley, was valued at the end of the 18th century at 407,000 lire, while in the same year the most prestigious Remondini bookshop in Venice was valued at 240,000 lire. See L. Zellini, *L'arte della stampa a Bassano*, vol. 2, cited in Infelise, *Remondini di Bassano*, 116. Considering that 1798 was a particularly difficult year for international trade because of the Napoleonic wars, the value of the Tesino shop in its best years, between 1750 and 1790, must have been even higher.

were popular and profane. The evolution of the Tesino sellers from pedlars to merchants during the 19th century is itself evidence of significant changes in buying habits and increases in print sales.

The particular organisation of the pedlars' networks with its subdivision into small groups under the leadership of company heads emerges from the sources. This system had the advantage of great flexibility, enabling it to cover a prescribed area fully. It also made possible mutual assistance among pedlars while they were on the road and provided a form of apprenticeship for younger generations as they operated alongside pedlars who were already well acquainted with specific locations and customs as well as with the particular demands of individual local markets. Groups were often made up of members of one family, contributing significantly to the solidarity and reciprocal trust that sustained pedlars in work that was demanding, full of uncertainties, and requiring many sacrifices. Each company head acquired a supply of prints from the agencies that the Remondini had opened in the valleys in order to monitor their sales force closely. The Remondini warehouse at Pieve Tesino, in Piazza Maggiore, had been established as early as 1711, while the one at S. Pietro al Natisone dated from half a century later. Prints were also sent to the Remondini's agents in various towns, from whom the pedlars would collect them and then begin their sales rounds.

Other sources shed light on the circumstances in which the pedlar's work was carried out. At the start of this chapter, we referred to a death certificate, a form of notification sent to the home parish of someone who had died abroad. The *Liber Defunctorum* of Pieve Tesino is based on these notices, and from that collection Elda Fietta has been able to draw up a very telling map of places where pedlars from Pieve Tesino died in the years between 1784 and 1824.[16] This information is only partial, but it gives us clear glimpses of positions attained by pedlars, especially those who had established a permanent business in a certain area and had opened a shop there.

Passports and certificates of health, indispensable documents for pedlars because they enabled them to cross frontiers and exercise their profession legally, are now valuable evidence of the pedlars' very existence. Legal travel restrictions not infrequently sought to prevent the sale of material that ran counter to the interests of the authorities. The Tesino valley was already part of the Austrian Empire, but when the Natisone

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[16] E. Fietta Ielen, 'Vendere dove, vendere cosa', in Sega, ed., *Les Hommes des images*, 25–32, at 26.

valleys also became part of the empire, in the year 1797, the ability of ped-
lars to travel was greatly enhanced, with the Imperial authorities granting
them special travel permits on occasion. Most of our information about
the pedlars' business is drawn from the contracts that were drawn up
when they acquired prints on credit from the Remondini's agents. Even
allowing for a degree of repetition, the archives of notarial deeds contain
an impressive amount of material related to both the Tesino and the
Natisone valleys.[17]

The most common type of contract covered the purchase of prints on
credit and an agreement that the debt would be paid with the income
obtained from sales on the debtor's return home. Disposable goods and
personal property, or the property of family members or guarantors, were
put up as security. For a variety of reasons pedlars were not always able to
honour a contract. If their family members and guarantors were not in
the position to cover the debt, the goods put up as security had to be
yielded in full or in part to the Remondini. Negotiations might play a part
in such cases, with rebates, deferments, and accommodations occasion-
ally arranged because it was not in the Remondini's interest to stifle the
trade on which a substantial part of their fortune was based and further
punish people who were already sorely tried, perhaps by the loss of rela-
tives when pedlars were killed in accidents abroad, or by the loss of all
their resources. But guarantees were called in; land, most frequently,
changed hands as a result.

Other sources that help us understand the pedlar phenomenon – for
example, notices of hereditary succession, lists of goods that appear in
other contexts, and lawsuits brought against the Remondini – will be con-
sidered when we discuss the prints sold by the pedlars.

The uniformity of the organisation of print sales among pedlars from
both the Tesino and the Natisone valleys can be traced back to distinct
commercial practices set up by the Remondini, who had made this trade
prosper and up to a certain point had been able to manage it wisely. Their
very modern vision of the production and market for prints was what dif-
ferentiated the Remondini from the majority of their European competi-
tors by the beginning of the 18th century. The Remondini pursued their
objectives consistently, with pre-industrial methods. It is certainly not a
coincidence that they alone managed all the stages of creation, produc-
tion and sale, from the engraving school operating at Bassano, relations
with contemporary artists and the manufacture of paper in their own

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[17] Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 258–321, contains more than 900 documents.

paper mills, to their large number of printing presses operating for both xylography and engravings from copper plates, and their close commercial relations with merchants located in every part of Europe.[18]

The pedlars were the ideal instruments for the Remondini to distribute their product widely, in large quantities and at a price that was lower than that of their direct competitors. The very close ties between the Bassano publishers and their sellers were intended to promote intensive selling in which each cog in the mechanism had been fine-tuned. For their part the sellers from the Tesino and Natisone valleys brought a spirit of initiative and an adaptability, as well as the desire to improve their social standing.

Subject to the dangers – by no means hypothetical – of life on the road, pedlars were viewed with suspicion by authorities in every country. But the sources relate that they dedicated much effort to obtaining the necessary documentation for their business, facilitated by the fact that they were Austrian. These pedlars were often well regarded by the population for the seriousness of their business, to the extent that they might acquire prominent public positions where they were able to make full use of their experience. Their business was based on recurring visits, year after year, and a good name and friendly relations with potential customers were fundamental to their being accepted and enabled them to find places to stay on their travels. As the pedlars often report in their accounts, rural hospitality was often repaid with the gift of a small print. This gift also had a promotional end, for the print was itself a form of advertising to locals who might purchase one during a future visit. The arrival of a pedlar in a peasant locality was always represented in 18th- and 19th-century prints as a time of curiosity and festivity, and we have no reason to consider this visual, if somewhat embroidered, source unrelated to reality.[19]

Organisation of the Print Trade: Visual Evidence

The printed image has its own contribution to make to the study of pedlars and peddling. This visual source is particularly useful in illuminating the contexts in which street vendors operated and confirms that print

[18] On the interesting Remondini correspondence kept at the Museo Civico in Bassano, see V. Gosen, *Incidere per i Remondini, lavoro, denaro e vita nelle lettere degli incisori a un grande editore del '700* (Bassano, 1999).

[19] For this subject, see E. Karasek & U. Claassen, eds., *Faszination Bild: Kultur-Kontakte in Europa* (Potsdam, 1999), 242–67.

pedlars were recognisable and recognised in streets and markets across Europe. Most of the print series dedicated to street vendors, a genre that was widely diffused, included a sheet or a figure of the print pedlar; we have such images for pedlars from, for example, Berlin, Gottingen, Nuremberg, London, Paris, Rome, Moscow, Zurich, and New York.[20] The image that offers the most plausibly lifelike representation of an Italian pedlar is that drawn by Johann Christian Brand for the series depicting the trades of Vienna, dated 1775.[21] The print, entitled 'Kupferstichhandler/ Vendeur d'estampes' and engraved by Brand himself, shows the pedlar with two large rolls of prints, one rolled up under his arm and protected by oilcloth, the other unfurled to display to the public prints of different formats, which are placed one on top of the other. The prints that can be recognised are of the so-called fine type, more expensive than very popular prints but surely not an unexpected sight on the streets of the capital of the Austrian Empire at the height of its renown. The print at the very top recalls those in the series 'Arti per via' drawn by Francesco Maggiotto and engraved by Giovanni Volpato around 1766 in Venice. In subsequent years Volpato was very actively engaged in engraving prints for the Remondini themselves.[22] Brand's figure of a pedlar was used as a model (see Figure 4.2) for the 'M.d d'estampes à Vienne' included in the collection of S. Maréchal, 'Costumes civils actuels de tous les peuples connus', published in Paris in 1788.[23] An image of a Tesino pedlar of a few decades later depicts a very similar character (see Figure 4.3), portrayed in this instance alongside other figures who are also wearing typical Trentino costumes.

An image engraved at the end of the 18th century by Carlo Lasinio for the Società Calcografica in Florence, part of a series of the trades of the city, also has strong parallels with these three depictions (see Figure 4.4). We cannot be sure that this is a portrait of a Tesino pedlar; the dress is similar but the rolls of prints have been replaced by a basket in which are found popular pamphlets and devotional objects. The prints are fixed to the basket with wooden pegs like those that were used by pedlars at markets to hang prints from strings. Clearly, both very cheap religious

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[20] See K.F. Beall, *Kaufrufe und Strassenhändler: eine Bibliographie* (Hamburg, 1975); V. Milliot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti, les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1995), 65–76; S. Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast, the Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002); R. Reichardt & H.-J. Lüsebrink, *'Kauft Schöne Bilder, Kupferstiche ...': illustrierte Flugblätter und französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer 1600–1830* (Mainz, 1996), 28–33.

[21] Printed in Beall, *Kaufrufe*, 445.

[22] G. Marini, *Giovanni Volpato 1735–1803* (Rome & Bassano, 1988), nos. 63–64.

[23] This is a reworking of a publication by Grasset de Saint Sauveur of 1784–7.

Figure 4.2. *M.ᵈ d'estampes à Vienne*, coloured aquatinta, Paris, 1788. Private Collection.

Figure 4.3. Trentine Costumes, coloured aquatinta, first quarter of 19th century. Private Collection.

pamphlets in Latin, intended for the use of lower clergy, and Italian-language texts with profane stories could easily find a place amongst the pedlar's wares. The basket is a traditional accoutrement of the Italian ped-lar, probably as a result of Italy's mostly favourable climate. Similarly, the ventole seller is ever present in collections depicting Italian travelling trades of the 16th and 17th centuries. A 'ventola' is a typical Italian fan, a simple fashion accessory made up of a wooden handle to which was fixed a piece of cardboard covered on each side by a printed sheet with text and images. The result was similar to a small flag (flag-fan), also used in reli-gious ceremonies, that could be expensively manufactured in ivory and silk, as depicted in a painting by Titian.[24]

Itineraries

The pedlars left their home villages during the second half of August and returned in time to participate in the labour required in spring, provided

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[24] On *ventole* see A. Milano, 'Prints for fans', *Print Quarterly*, 4 (1987), 3–19.

Figure 4.4. *Veduta dei lavatoi da S. Simone,* etching, Carlo Lasinio, Firenze, 1790–1800. Private Collection.

that their circuit did not take them on the road for several years because of
the great distances involved. They took with them a few personal effects
and what they needed to transport the prints. At some point in the
18th century it became common for pedlars to carry a small chest on their
back, in which papers would be well protected. We have seen that the
prints were usually sent by other means to places en route or to their ulti-
mate destination, so that the pedlars did not have too much to carry, which
would have limited their movement. The pedlars always travelled on foot,
not on horseback or on mules, and they had to have with them everything
that they might need. Their itineraries across Europe, reconstructed by
Elda Fietta and Alba Zanini, linked the major communication routes and
trading destinations.[25]

The pedlars started out from the villages of the Natisone valleys, with
the Sava, Drava, Danube and Tibisco rivers forming the spines of their
routes (see Figure 4.5; see also color illustrations). Fixed points of refer-
ence were the periodic markets and festivals and the sanctuaries to which
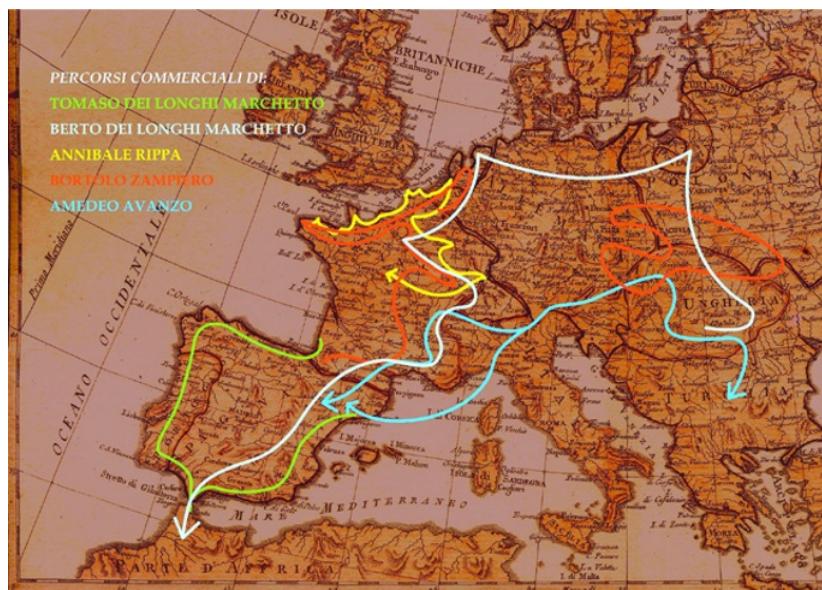
Figure 4.5. Map showing itineraries of Italian pedlars. Map construction by Elda
Fietta, for PER VIA Museo Tesino delle stampe e dell'ambulantato, Pieve Tesino
(Trento), Italy.

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[25] See Fietta Ielen, 'Vendere dove', 26–9; Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 354–7.

pilgrims headed. The roads along the rivers offered some ease of movement, although drownings caused by accidents or floods were not uncommon. Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary, Romania and Ukraine were regions crossed by the pedlars, and the Remondini produced many holy images relating to religious devotion in those places.[26] The shrine of Maria Radna in Romania in the diocese of Timisoara is particularly noteworthy, for the image of the Virgin Mary venerated in this sanctuary is a xylography printed by the Remondini at the end of the 17th century and representing the 'Madonna del Carmine'. According to legend, George of Bosnia had donated the print in 1668, and in September 1695, when the church was destroyed by a fire the print remained intact. As a result of this miracle, the rebuilt church became a place of pilgrimage and was officially named a pilgrimage church in 1750. The Remondini subsequently printed new devotional versions of the same image, but this time in the context of the miracles that she had performed and with depictions of the sanctuary of Maria Radna.[27]

Starting from Tesino, a well-beaten track lay along the Claudia Augusta Altinate, the ancient Roman road that passed through Merano and the Resia valley and then crossed the Alps heading for Augsburg in Germany. A significant locus for the production of and trade in prints in the 17th and 18th centuries, Augsburg was the gateway not only to Germany but to all the markets of northern Europe.[28] From Augsburg, Tesino pedlars continued on to France, Belgium, Holland, and the other German states, with longer itineraries taking them into Poland, Bohemia and even Russia. Impressive work has been carried out by Elda Fietta in reconstructing the existence of shops opened by Tesino traders.[29] In 1846 Tesino traders had shops in Paris, Strasbourg, Bern, Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Hamburg, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Warsaw, Lviv, Saint Petersburg and Moscow, cities to which earlier generations of the same families had been coming for years, in some cases for over a century, arriving with prints carried on their backs.

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[26] G. Frasson, 'Le stampe Remondiniane destinate all'Europa centro-orientale', *Ateneo Veneto*, 177 (1990), 197–210.

[27] Minici, *Le stampe popolari*, nos. 707-1068-1069. In the *didascaly* is written: 'Vera effigies thaumaturgae B. V. Mariae Radiensis ad eam quae in Typographia Remondiniana olim impressa'; Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 151, 163, 164.

[28] On the production of prints in Augsburg, see J.R. Paas, ed., *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit* (Augsburg, 2001).

[29] E. Fietta Ielen, 'Organizzazione del commercio tesino', in Milano, ed., *Commercio delle stampe*, 177–87, at 184.

The Print Market

Contemporary official records define print pedlars in various ways, listing them as, for example, 'quaestor imaginum', 'iconoportitor', or 'nundinator imaginum', terms that highlight the main object of their trade: the printed image. Depending on circumstance, date and location, pedlars might carry out other small trades alongside their principal trade in prints: in the 19th century, for example, they also sold frames (closely linked to methods of displaying prints) and, in Italy in particular, popular chapbooks and pamphlets. For pedlars from Friuli there is documentary evidence of trade in knick-knacks on behalf of a firm in Graz. And on 27 August 1766, in the course of proceedings brought against the Remondini in Augsburg for plagiarism of local products, the pedlar Giuseppe Fietta admitted in front of the panel charged with judging the case that the Remondini prints were widely sold to peasants in the region because they were brightly coloured with gold and silver and were inexpensive.[30]

Some lists of prints acquired by pedlars to be sold provide us with precious evidence of the subjects and sizes that were in greatest demand,[31] although they are more informative about format and type than subject matter. Our reconstruction of the pedlars' material must therefore necessarily be somewhat approximate, but the captions on prints are often helpful. Remondini captions were often written in Latin, still considered the international language par excellence in the 18th century, particularly for prints with a sacred subject and those with mythological and decorative subjects. French, German and the Slavonic languages were used not only for images destined for those regions, but also in cases where the images were reprinted from copperplates acquired from other printers. Between 1785 and 1815 English was widely used in captions, a period when the fashion for romantic subjects grew. Spanish was also commonly used, a clear signal that Spain was one of the major markets for these products. Prints with captions in more than one language are not uncommon, especially prints with optical views and decorative prints.

For prints to be sold on a large scale, a range of subjects, both profane and religious, was fundamental, providing prints that could be recognised and understood across a broad geographical area, and these prints

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[30] A. Milano, 'L'editore tesino Domenico Fietta e la produzione di stampe ad Augsburg tra 1790 e 1810', in Milano, ed., *Commercio delle stampe*, 233–47, at 236.

[31] A. Giacomello & A. Milano, 'Gli ambulanti delle Valli del Natisone e la diffusione delle stampe dei Remondini', in Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 107–248.

therefore found a substantial audience. From the 16th century onwards, a whole range of subjects, sometimes based on much older and easily identifiable subjects, found widespread acceptance in Europe. This subject matter made up a vocabulary for images that was shared by Europeans on a scale that has been little appreciated. And this common visual language was spread through the vehicle of the print.

Certain prints addressed topics that were recognised, accepted and could consequently be sold practically everywhere: prints with captions such as 'The Ladder of Human Life', 'The Four Seasons', 'The Five Senses', 'The Seven Wonders of the World', 'The Four Corners of the World', 'The Four Elements', 'The Months', 'The Four Quarters of the Day', 'The Seven Planets', 'The Age of Humanity', 'The Age of Life', 'The Twelve Caesars', 'The World Upside Sown' and 'The Hunt'. It was not by chance that the Remondini were able to offer these series from Spain to Russia without any alterations. Similarly, biblical subjects such as the creation of the world, Noah's ark and the stories of Joseph also found a wide audience almost everywhere, as did the dance of death. Images of saints, the Madonna and the crucifixion were also offered, but this material was more closely linked to specific local traditions and requirements, as can be read from the catalogues that the Remondini published to advertise their prints, which recorded, for example, '200 francesine copperplates showing Crucifixions of various qualities and designs for images and devotional objects which are worshiped in America, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Transylvania, Bosnia, Carinthia, Grand Duchy of Moscow, Greece etc.'[32] In practice with his particular destination in mind, each pedlar could count on having for sale a certain number of generic subjects that were always popular as well as other subjects which were of particular local interest. Among the most requested subjects were portraits of rulers of the various parts of Europe and views of major cities.

The pedlars carried out market research for the Remondini, sometimes unwittingly, with information conveyed through their orders and their choices; their sensitivity to the market extended to checking which images were requested in which places, and to returning home with examples of the most widely distributed images from competing printmakers. An examination of a group of prints now preserved in the Bertarelli Collection at Castello Sforzesco in Milan, but originally from the Remondini's warehouses, sheds light on aspects of the commercial policy of the Bassano

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[32] *Catalogo delle Stampe in rame e delle varie qualità di carte privilegiate* (Remondini, 1770).

printers.[33] Various comments have been added by hand to the finished prints, which had often been produced by the Remondini's competitors. Every suggestion made by collaborators and pedlars appears to have been taken into consideration. The images chosen were then either modified or directly copied, to be added to the available selection. Since the Remondini's commercial contacts in Europe were extensive, they could be notified swiftly about the requirements of various markets.

The price of a print was determined by its size, and the pedlars travelled with an assortment so as to be able to satisfy different requirements. The most commercial format was small-to-medium sized, called 'mode' and 'francesine'. These prints measured 30 cm by 40 cm, and depicted thousands of different subjects. The pricier larger sheets had a more obvious use as decoration displayed on walls within a house, and their subject matter was evidently chosen with this ornamental purpose in mind.

Subjects of a strictly political nature or linked to very immediate contemporary events could not be included in the commercial plans of the Remondini or their sellers except in the case of events with exceptionally wide impact, such as the death of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria.[34] The market philosophy of the Remondini was very clear: they sought to offer for sale printed material that had lasting and broad appeal; they did not wish their product to become outdated or irrelevant. That it was in the best interests of the Remondini and their sellers to avoid any political involvement was made very evident, as a legal case concerning an image of the Last Judgment unfolded.[35] On 21 April 1772 Pietro Samonato, a print dealer originally from Bieno, one of the small villages from which Tesino pedlars originated, was arrested in Rome and imprisoned for displaying and selling near Piazza Navona a Remondini a printed image whose caption read, 'Potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur' ('The most powerful people will suffer the most terrible torments') and in which the coat of arms of the King of Spain was depicted immediately above a group of demons. The ambassadors of France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples protested to Pope Clement XIV, who instigated charges against Giambattista Remondini, publisher of the offending print. All the complex circumstances of the trial, which was set within the context of the debate

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[33] C. Salsi, 'Le stampe Remondini nella Collezione Achille Bertarelli', in Infelise & Marini, eds., *Remondini*, 39–51, at 39.

[34] A. Milano, 'Le stampe storiche', in Infelise & Marini, eds., *Remondini*, 246–7, illustrations 2 and 3. Here the print is compared with the original, published in Vienna by Hieronimus Loeschenkohl, used as a model for the Remondini print.

[35] Fietta Ielen, *Con la cassela in spalla*, 20.

over the Jesuits, have been reconstructed by Mario Infelise. With the subject of this chapter in mind, we should note the Remondini's great fear that they might run up against similar problems in future, for the consequences could be severe and might seriously harm their business.[36] The risk was even greater for pedlars, for unlike the Remondini, who were able to rely on powerful and influential friendships and could employ highly paid lawyers to defend their interests, a pedlar facing such charges might lose his income and be left without the means to support himself or his family.

Among the prints sold by the pedlars of the Natisone valleys we also find decorated papers that would have been employed primarily to bind books but could also have been used to cover objects, including boxes and furniture. The Remondini's product range was among the broadest in Europe and included paper printed from wooden matrices as well as gilded paper manufactured using techniques of which the Augsburg printers were masters.[37]

From Pedlars to Print Publishers

Prior to their trade in prints, Tesino pedlars had most often sold flint, which was in great demand in the 17th century but no longer produced in the valley in later centuries.[38] In the 18th century prints became their principal merchandise, but after a point they began also to sell sheets not published by the Remondini. Indeed, later generations established fixed businesses, opening shops and warehouses in which interested members of the public could find fine art, prints and later even photographs. Having acquired considerable experience of the market, pedlars from Tesino transformed themselves into publishers of images in sectors into which the Remondini would never have been able to venture. In the last decades of the 18th century a whole series of collaborations between publishers originally from Tesino was born, producing views of cities and picturesque places, traditional local costumes and decorative images that were more in keeping with the desires of a public who had gradually become more demanding. With these shops as new landmarks, the work of the pedlars continued, but their range was now more extensive and they sold other sheets to clients in the cities.

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[36] Infelise, *I Remondini di Bassano*, 120–30.
[37] See A. Milano & M. Fantinato, *Remondini, le stampe, le carte decorate* (Bassano, 2007).
[38] Fietta Ielen, *Con la cassela in spalla*, 2.

The publishers from Tesino kept up their production in the field of decorative prints, the area they knew best, but they adapted to gradual change in the market in the course of the last two decades of the 18th century and subsequently to the commercial difficulties that followed the Napoleonic Wars. In spite of Napoleon's defeat, the centre of the fashion for images, and its production, moved from Germany to France and England, and lithography supplanted other printing techniques during the second quarter of the 19th century.

Some Tesino family names, now little known, were prominent in the print trade in Europe between the end of the 18th century and the mid-19th century; we are aware of family members from at least three successive generations who operated in the major European capitals. The Fietta, Tessari and Zanna families had first built up an efficient business in copperplates in Augsburg, following the English fashion for very well-finished romantic views. The Tessari also had offices in London and Paris, their firm in Paris becoming so well-known that P.-L. Duchartre and R. Saulnier described its production as highly typical of the rue St Jacques, the home of Parisian printers.[39] Similarly, the range put together by Fietta was characteristic of Augsburg printers; as was that assembled in Amsterdam by Buffa, with a series of highly-regarded local prints; and that by Daziaro in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, where he published Russian scenes and costumes that became very popular. This ability to identify and adapt to local taste, responding consistently to public demand in places where they settled, is one of the most significant features to have emerged from research into the Tesino pedlars. An additional stage in the development of the business of the Tesino publishers can be identified in the introduction of lithography for genre and costume subjects, which had maximum sales potential. Lithographic printing enabled much more realistic and accurate reproduction of images at markedly lower prices.

Remondini and most of their competitors disappeared from the market at the beginning of the new century, but publishers born in Tesino proved to be more flexible and more able to adapt to the demands of the market. Not being printers, they simply commissioned the printing of their editions at the new Parisian lithographic laboratories, which were by far the most specialised. Daziaro's shops in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, for example, sold every type of lithograph with a Russian subject, but they had been printed in Paris by Lemercier, who was perhaps the most important lithographer in the mid-19th century (see Figure 4.6).

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[39] P.L. Duchartre & R. Saulnier, *L'imagerie Parisienne* (Paris, 1944), 239.

Figure 4.6. *Croquis Russes par H. Mitreuter,* Pl.5, lithograph, Daziaro, Moscow, St. Petersburg, around 1850. Private Collection.

Conclusion

On 28 December 1838 the death at Bjelovar in Croatia of a pedlar described as a 'collector obsoletorum pannorum' (a gatherer of worn-out rags) was announced.[40] This document makes evident that the pedlars organised small-scale trade themselves, to pay for the travel that would bring them back home. The pedlars from the Natisone valleys had to deal with economic conditions that became ever more difficult, and they had to respond with as great flexibility as possible to the low spending power of their East European customers. They transported religious pamphlets and other small items together with the prints and retrieved rags, a precious raw material for the manufacture of paper, with which they returned home, where the rags were sold on to the Remondini's agents. It is probable that

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40 Ruttar & Zanini, eds., *Guziranje*, 56 (document number 994).

some traders from Friuli took up residence abroad in order to give their work greater stability. Future research will look for traces of such pedlars in eastern Europe as it seeks to reconstruct their lives more fully.

The distribution system based on organised peddling was ideally suited to the print trade in the 18th and 19th centuries because it was able to reach remote customers at home. At the same time the pedlars' experience of the market enabled them to assemble very useful information to report back to the publisher. The history of pedlars can make a significant contribution to the reconstruction of the tastes, culture and daily lives of their customers.

The documentary evidence for the Tesino traders is more abundant and more detailed, but we have yet to shed much light on individual personalities who operated within the various families. The gathering of solid data, the confirmation of the names of those involved and the examination of the business they carried out will require extensive research in the cities where they had offices. A new phase of research into these Italian pedlars is beginning, in which the archives and print collections of many European nations will be explored, in particular in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany and England. One goal is to build a corpus of everything that was produced by the Tesino publishers and to connect it to other contemporary networks of publishers.

'WANDERING WITH PAMPHLETS': THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF NEWS CIRCULATION IN CIVIL WAR ENGLAND

Jason Peacey

This paper focuses upon English pedlars, hawkers and chapmen during the 17th century. It explores the role of various kinds of itinerant traders in the distribution and sale of cheap printed texts, whether from carts, stalls and baskets on the streets of London (hawkers), or from packs carried across national distribution networks (pedlars). Such men and women have obviously received significant scholarly attention over many years, not least from Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt, who have made three broad contributions to our understanding of the itinerant trade in cheap print.[1] Firstly, they have emphasised the importance of printed wares within the packs carried through provincial England by pedlars and chapmen, and they have done a great deal to draw attention to the kinds of genres which were circulated by them, in terms of 'small books and pleasant histories', and in terms of ballads, pious pamphlets, and moralising tales, which could be consumed by a popular audience, and even displayed publicly in private houses and public places. Indeed, although it has been widely noted that Richard Baxter remembered acquiring more substantial religious works from pedlars, like Richard Sibbes's *Bruised Reed*, this is taken to have been exceptional rather than normal.[2] Secondly, Spufford and Watt have emphasised the connections which existed between pedlars, booksellers and publishers in both provincial and

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[1] M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge, 1981), 111–28; T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1994); T. Watt, 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: the changing character of the broadside trade, 1550–1640', in R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *Spreading the Word. The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850* (Winchester, 1990), 61–81; M. Spufford, 'The pedlar, the historians and the folklorist: seventeenth century communications', *Folklore*, 105 (1994), 13–24; M. Bell, 'Sturdy rogues and vagabonds: Restoration control of pedlars and hawkers', in P. Isaac & B. McKay, eds., *The Mighty Engine. The Printing Press and its Impact* (Winchester, 2000), 89–96; D. Stoker, '"To all booksellers, country chapmen, hawkers and others": how the population of East Anglia obtained its printed materials', in R. Myers, M. Harris & G. Mandelbrote, eds., *Fairs, Markets, and the Itinerant Book Trade* (London, 2007), 107–36.

[2] Spufford, *Small Books*, 117–18; Watt, 'Piety', 235, 255–6.

metropolitan contexts; the fact that pedlars often worked as agents for stationers both in London and beyond; and the possibility that by such means printed works could reach even the most humble readers at fairs and in alehouses.[3] Thirdly, Spufford and Watt have stressed the importance of recognising that pedlars served a range of customers, from the gentry and social elite to the lowly and the poor, and as such they have done much to prove that pedlars provided a means by which centre and localities were connected across the socio-economic spectrum, and an important mechanism by which the lower orders were introduced to the world of print, and the ideas that it could relay, and by which they were integrated into a common culture, at least for certain types of books. As Watt concluded, studying pedlars reveals that 'printed wares were becoming increasingly familiar objects in the daily lives of those on the fringes of literacy'.[4]

In many ways, my intention here is not to challenge such findings, and I certainly have no intention of analysing the nature of the print genres upon which they focused, or of addressing the recent debate regarding possible distinctions between the kinds of ballads which were aimed at, and reached, different audiences.[5] Rather, I hope to supplement their work by focusing upon the period after 1640, and to argue that, to the extent that this has received scholarly attention hitherto, important dimensions of the peripatetic print trade have been overlooked or underplayed. Most importantly, this chapter addresses the apparent disjunction between the work of Spufford and Watt on the one hand, and that of a scholar such as Maureen Bell on the other. Bell has focused very specifically upon the late 17th century, and has highlighted the degree to which official concern regarding the itinerant book trade became focused upon the possibility that pedlars and hawkers were responsible for distributing seditious political literature, in the form of pamphlets and newspapers. As Bell has shown, it was this concern about political literature in the pedlar's pack which generated a determination to introduce mechanisms for licensing such traders individually. There was certainly plentiful evidence to support such worries. In October 1682, for example, a female hawker was arrested 'for crying and vending a paper' entitled *A True Account of the*

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[3] M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* (London, 1984), 80; Watt, 'Publisher', 68; Watt, 'Piety', 244; J. Barnard & M. Bell, 'The English provinces', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain IV, 1557–1695*, ed. J. Bernard & D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge, 2002), 666, 675.

[4] Watt, 'Publisher', 62; Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, 85–6, 154, 163, 168, 197, 204, 226.

[5] A. McShane & M. Jenner, 'Debate: The roasting of the Rump: scatology and the body politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 196 (2007), 84–120, 253–86.

Irregular Proceedings, which offered an account of the recent and highly controversial shrieval election in London, contested between Dudley North and Peter Rich for the Tories, and Thomas Papillon and John Dubois for the Whigs. This was an inflammatory political tract, and a powerful piece of Whig propaganda against the swearing-in of North and Rich as 'the two pretended sheriffs'. On this occasion, as on others, the imprisoned hawker was only released after spilling the beans about the origins of particular works, and upon 'telling where she had them'.[6] In January 1683, another female hawker was indicted and found guilty at the Guildhall sessions for selling the exact same work, and was fined £20.[7] By 1689, indeed, a newspaper-addicted provincial reader such as Sir William Boothby of Ashbourne in Derbyshire could complain about the service he was receiving from his London bookseller, Joseph Watts, and about the fact that 'I have not a third part of what comes out by what I see in other hands and hear of', by claiming that 'it were an easy matter to order a hawker or two to deliver [...] the prints as they come out, and they would be glad of such custom'.[8]

What is perplexing about the work of Watt and Spufford, therefore, is that they detected little evidence that the pedlar's pack contained topical and political literature before 1640. This was no mere oversight on their part, and it is intriguing that itinerant traders in provincial England genuinely do not seem to have played an appreciable role in the distribution of either manuscript news or printed polemic before the civil wars. My aim, however, is to reconcile the work of Watt, Spufford and Bell, by drawing attention to three important changes which took place in the world of the pedlar, and the itinerant print trade more broadly, after 1640. These changes have significant implications for our understanding of the importance of popular political print culture in the 1640s and 1650s, and I would like to argue that the itinerant print trade—whether in terms of provincial pedlars or urban hawkers, who were not always consistently distinguished in contemporary discourse—contributed to the creation of a

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[6] F[olger] S[hakespeare] L[ibrary, Washington DC], L.c.1283. See *A True Account of the Irregular Proceedings* (London, 1682); G. De Krey, 'London radicals and revolutionary politics, 1675–1683', in T. Harris, ed., *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), 133–62.

[7] FSL, L.c.1328.

[8] B[ritish] L[ibrary], Add[itional MS] 71692, f. 73ᵛ. For Watts, see H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers* [...] *1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 304–5. For Boothby, see P. Beal, '"My books are the great joy of my life": Sir William Boothby, seventeenth century bibliophile', *Book Collector*, 46 (1997), 350–77.

political culture which was common across the country and across the social spectrum. What this piece seeks to do, in other words, is to map changes which took place in the nature of the itinerant print trade and to explore their consequences, and to suggest that these help to demonstrate that the political and religious upheavals of the mid-17th century, and the dramatic growth of cheap commercial news and polemic, helped to transform the political culture of Britain in ways which continued to shape public life long after 1660.

I

That the very different worlds of the pedlars who were described by Watt and Spufford, and the hawkers who were analysed by Bell, can in fact be reconciled is apparent from an examination of the changes which took place in the world of cheap print during the mid-17th century. What follows, therefore, represents an attempt to draw much needed attention to the poorly understood nature of the distribution of pamphlets and newspapers during the 'print revolution' of the 1640s and 1650s.[9] Attention will focus on three key developments, one of which will be treated in some detail, while the other two will necessarily receive only sketchy analysis, in the hope of suggesting avenues for further research.

The first development to which attention needs to be drawn involves the way in which pedlars and hawkers alike became much more obviously involved in the distribution of newspapers and political pamphlets.[10] Thus, while the itinerant book trade continued to involve traditional forms of popular literature, such as merry ballads, pious stories and folk tales, pedlars and hawkers increasingly turned their attention to the sale of more controversial and topical political and religious literature. The latter, involving polemical texts as well as newsbooks, was obviously not entirely novel, but it formed a much more significant part of the print trade after 1640, and it was the kind of material which seems previously to have been the preserve of metropolitan bookshops, and to have reached the localities either by means of gentry sociability and the postal system, or else

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[9] For a brief discussion of distribution, see J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford, 1996), 238–41.

[10] For brief discussions, see D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion. Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637–1645* (London, 1997), 110, 112; J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 23, 39, 187, 196, 232, 242.

through networks of godly activists. Before the civil wars, in other words, topical and controversial literature seems to have been almost entirely absent from the itinerant print trade, but this situation changed dramatically with the onset of England's 'troubles'.[11] Indeed, this heightened involvement of itinerant traders in the distribution of topical and polemical literature even led to the emergence of new kinds of street merchants, in the form of 'mercuries' or 'mercury women', a term which in the mid-17th century seems to have referred to the street-selling of a particular genre—newspapers—rather than to the wholesale trade, as it would do in later decades. During the civil wars and interregnum, in other words, the 'mercury' or 'mercury woman'—terms which perhaps indicate that female traders were a particularly important phenomena—seems to have been a more specialised form of hawker, who plied their wares in the streets of London. Particularly enlightening in this regard are the London Bridewell records for the early 1640s, a source which has largely been overlooked by historians of print culture, but which contains many examples of individuals who were imprisoned for selling seditious political pamphlets, and who found themselves in this most notorious of institutions because they were regarded as, and may really have been, little more than vagrants and beggars.[12] In May 1642, for example, a young man called John Fisher was 'taken in the streets, wandering with pamphlets', and having been found to have lacked a master, he was ordered to be set to work, although the court books subsequently recorded that he was fairly quickly released into his mother's care.[13] Later in the same month, Thomas Cowell, who was apparently suffering from the king's evil (scrofula), was apprehended having

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[11] There is only occasional evidence from the period before 1640 of scandalous books being distributed from stationers to chapmen: C[alendar of] S[tate] P[apers] D[omestic] 1629–31, 159. Much more common, however, is evidence of newspapers being distributed privately through the postal system: M. Frearson, 'The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s', in R. Myers & M. Harris, ed., Serials and their Readers 1620–1914 (Winchester, 1993), 1–25; R. Cust, 'News and politics in early seventeenth-century England', Past and Present, 112 (1986), 60–90; F.J. Levy, 'How information spread among the gentry, 1550–1640', Journal of British Studies, 21 (1982), 11–34; J. Scott-Warren, 'News, sociability and bookbuying in early modern England: the letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', The Library, 7th series, 1 (2000), 381–402. Alternatively, polemical and controversial literature was spread by means of a separate distribution system based upon discreet networks of political and religious fellow-travellers: J. Peacey, 'The paranoid prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan plot', in Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe, ed. B. Coward & J. Swann (Aldershot, 2004), 113–34.

[12] P. Griffiths, Lost Londons: Change, Crime and Control in the Capital City, 1550–1660 (Cambridge, 2008).

[13] Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum (BRHAM), BCB 8, p. 381.

been found 'wandering in the streets selling pamphlets',[14] and on 17 June the Bridewell authorities were forced to deal with no less than three men, Thomas Newsam, William Patience and Charles Pickett, all of whom had been 'taken wandering in the streets with pamphlets'. Newsam, who was arrested at night, was said to have been only fourteen years old, and to have been working for his mother, while Patience was described as 'a common vagrant and beggar'.[15] That the works that such people were involved in selling were politically charged pamphlets is evident from other similar cases from 1643 and 1644. These include the episode involving Margaret Knolden, who was 'taken roguing in the street and selling seditious pamphlets' in April 1643, and who was ordered to be put to work. They also include the vagrant, Elizabeth Manfield, who was arrested in September 1644.[16] In July 1642, moreover, the House of Commons considered the petition of Evan Lewis and Richard Hubbard, who had been sent to Newgate for selling about the streets of London a notorious pamphlet entitled *The Resolution of the County of Hereford*, which appeared to represent one of a number of contributions to the national debate about constitutional and religious reform in the months before the outbreak of civil war, but which was in fact a Grub Street forgery.[17]

That something new was happening after 1640 is also evident from popular printed discourse regarding hawkers and pedlars. The journalist Marchamont Nedham referred to 'she-hawkers' as disseminators of political literature, and on one occasioned he expressed pity for such 'silly women and children' who were engaged in 'crying books and pamphlets about the streets, whereby to get their living'.[18] Most obviously, hawkers were discussed in a pamphlet entitled *The Downefall of Temporizing Poets*, which attacked 'unlicensed printers, upstart booksellers, trotting mercuries, and bawling hawkers'. The author of this tract related a fictional conversation between a hawker named 'suck-bottle', who blamed the new kind of 'mercury' for bringing about his downfall, and one such 'mercury', called 'Lightfoot', who blamed the hawker for ensuring that his hopes and expectations—that 'my basket with papers would have filled my purse with crowns'—were dashed, and that 'now I could scarce get money enough to buy shoes to trot from the Exchange to Westminster, and from

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[14] BRHAM, BCB 8, p. 385.

[15] BRHAM, BCB 8, pp. 388–9.

[16] BRHAM, BCB 9, pp. 34, 145.

[17] C[ommons] J[ournal], ii. 683.

[18] *The Observer*, 1 (24–31 Oct. 1654), 11; *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 25 (9–16 Oct. 1649), sigs. Bb-Bbv.

Westminster to the Old Bailey, from the Old Bailey to St Paul's churchyard, and from thence to Westminster again'.[19] The hawker replied by mocking the gentility of 'your worshipful mercuries, both male and female', who 'pull down the admirable corporation, or rather Bachanalian Society of most reverend wandering stationers'.[20] What is particularly interesting about this pamphlet is not merely that hawkers and mercuries had assumed an unprecedented prominence in the public mind, but also the fact that both characters were then taken to task by 'Red nose' the pot-poet, who evidently felt that the kind of works which he wrote in order to eke out a living—ballads, verses and merry tales—had been displaced by other genres. Indeed, Red-nose explicitly referred to the probability that the hawker and the mercury would be rewarded not with the riches after which they grasped, but rather with 'the whipping posts', given that they were involved in the distribution and sale of unlicensed works.[21]

More importantly, evidence about new kinds of practices relating to the distribution of political pamphlets also comes in the form of repeated attempts to clamp down upon the activity of hawkers. This was evident most clearly from the act passed by the Common Council of London on 9 October 1643, which was issued in response to complaints from the Stationers' Company, and which had actually been drafted by them earlier that year. This act referred to 'a multitude of vagrant persons, men, women and children, which after the manner of hawkers, do openly cry about the streets, pamphlets, and other books, and under colour thereof are found to disperse all sorts of dangerous libels, to the intolerable dishonour of the king's majesty, and of the high court of Parliament, and the whole govern-ment of this realm'. The authorities ordered that the City should 'make a forfeiture of the goods that are carried about the streets', and should also seek rigorous enforcement of the statutes against rogues and vagabonds.[22] Contemporary evidence suggests that this order probably had some effect, and significantly fewer cases came before Bridewell in succeeding years. Nevertheless, the fact that repeated attempts were thought to be required in order to enforce and strengthen such measures suggests that there was

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[19] *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets* (London, 1641), 1–2; Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, 85.

[20] *Downefall of Temporizing Poets*, 2.

[21] *Downefall of Temporizing Poets*, 3–4.

[22] Stationers' Company, London, Court Book C, f. 191ᵛ; *An Act of Common Councell, for the prohibition of all persons whatsoever, from crying or putting to sale about the streets [...] any pamphlets, books or papers [...] by way of hawking* (London, 1643); Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, 113–14.

an ongoing problem. Even as early as February 1644 the Stationers'
Company seems to have believed that more action was required, and as
such they considered sending a petition to Parliament about hawkers. The
years that followed, moreover, witnessed numerous other incidents
involving the hawking of politically sensitive material.[23] In August 1645,
for example, the Venetian ambassador noted that a 'sheet of advices'—the
notorious 'hue and cry' after Charles I issued by Nedham in *Mercurius
Britanicus*—had been 'hawked in the all the streets by the newsboys for
two days running', and he noted that this was responsible for 'feeding the
hatred of the vulgar'.[24] In December 1646, meanwhile, the House of Lords
was forced to consider the case of Abigail Rogers, who was eventually sent
to Bridewell for hawking around the streets of London a controversial
tract by the notorious republican MP, Henry Marten, entitled *A Resolve of
the Person of the King*.[25] In January 1647, the Stationers complained that
Leveller tracts such as *Regal Tyranny Discovered* were being sold on the
streets, alleging that they had encountered a mercury woman called Mrs
Eeles—'a common disperser of dangerous pamphlets'—who had been
seen sitting outside Westminster Hall with 'her lap full of books'.[26]
Members of the House of Lords subsequently learned, in April 1647, about
another pamphlet which was being sold in London's streets by women,
entitled *The Unlawfulness of Subjects Taking up Arms*,[27] and in October
1648 the Derby House Committee considered the issue of another mer-
cury woman, Eleanor Passenger, who had been sent to Bridewell, and who
was subsequently ordered to be transferred to Peterhouse prison.[28] As in
earlier cases, Passenger seems to have been released once she provided
evidence from whence her pamphlets came, and one such supplier seems
to have been George Thompson, a bookseller near Lincoln's Inn, who was
suspected of dispersing scandalous pamphlets, and who was questioned
in November 1648, with the mercury women as the prosecution's star wit-
nesses.[29] As with other aspects of the book trade, in other words, official
attempts to clamp down on illicit behaviour by hawkers and mercuries

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[23] Stationers' Company, Court Book C, f. 196.

[24] *C[alendar of] S[tate] P[apers] V[enetian] 1643–7*, 207–8.

[25] *L[ords] J[ournal]*, viii, 615.

[26] Parliamentary Archives, Main Papers 23 January 1647; H[istorical] M[anuscripts]
C[ommission], *Sixth Report* (London, 1899), 154; *LJ*, viii, 684.

[27] *LJ*, ix, 163.

[28] *CSPD 1648–9*, 310.

[29] *CSPD 1648–9*, 328, 331. For Thompson, see H. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers
and Printers [...] 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 178.

involved harassment and information-gathering as much as brutal repression, although to the extent that this new breed of itinerant trader was regarded as little more than vagrants they sometimes encountered rather harsher treatment than errant printers and booksellers.

The persistence of such cases eventually saw the battle being fought at a national, rather than merely a local level. Parliament's press ordinance of September 1647, therefore, made specific mention of hawkers and mercuries, who were to have their books seized, and who were to be whipped as common rogues.[30] In January 1649, meanwhile, the parliamentarian commander, Sir Thomas Fairfax, gave responsibility to his commissary general for dealing with the same problem, and the problem of hawkers was raised again in the new measures to reimpose press control in September 1649.[31] The interest of such measures is threefold. Firstly, they seem to have been largely ineffective. This seems evident from cases such as those of John Teague, a yeoman from Whitechapel, who was indicted in March 1650 as 'a hawker and seller of scandalous and seditious pamphlets', and of the woman who was arrested in March 1654 for selling copies of newsbooks such as the *Perfect Account* and the *Moderate Intelligencer*.[32] Secondly, the measures taken by Parliament and the army prompted a defiant petition from the hawkers themselves in April 1649, many of whom claimed to be maimed soldiers and poor traders, who had been forced to sell pamphlets and newsbooks in order to make ends meet. The hawkers professed that they had no desire to sell unlicensed books, but protested against a situation in which 'the benefit of licensed pamphlets doth now redown only to the benefit of four or five rich men, who although they be stationers, yet were never apprenticed to sell pamphlets'.[33] Thirdly, such measures indicate that the problem of hawkers, and of the hawking of political pamphlets and newspapers, had now become one which affected more than merely London. This is evident very clearly from an order passed by the Council of State on 1 June 1650, which was directed to a stationer in Market Harborough called William Thompson. The council was responding to complaints about the frequent abuses and inconveniences caused by 'hawkers and criers of books, licensed and unlicensed, and all scandalous

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[30] *LJ*, ix, 457–8; Frank, *Beginnings*, 136.
[31] *A Warrant of the Lord General Fairfax* [...] *concerning the regulating of printing and dispersing of scandalous pamphlets* (London, [11 Jan.] 1649), 3–5; Frank, *Beginnings*, 197, 356.
[32] *Middlesex County Records*, vol. 3, ed. J. Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1888), 194; *CSPD 1654*, 59.
[33] HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of F. W. Leyborne-Popham* (London, 1899), 16–17.

and seditious pamphlets, in his town, and other places in Leicestershire, to the great contempt of the laws and government, discouragement of the well affected, and heartening of the malignants', and Thompson was required to use all lawful means for suppressing the hawkers and for seizing their books and pamphlets.[34] This emergence of a national culture involving the hawking of cheap political literature is also clear from local legal records, as with the case of John Winsor, who was prosecuted at the Hertfordshire quarter sessions in 1654 for bringing 300 copies of one particularly scandalous pamphlet to Hemel Hempstead in order to be sold, having acquired them from a London printer who had apparently sent bundles of the same tract to other local men, including one individual in Watford.[35]

The result of these problems, and of the ongoing concern about the itinerant trade in political pamphlets, was renewed determination on the part of the authorities to suppress hawkers. Cromwellian press legislation in August 1655, therefore, made a point of emphasising the need to enforce earlier legislation, and to send offenders to Bridewell, and this measure may even have proved temporarily effective, although the period after the collapse of the protectorate witnessed renewed problems.[36] Evidence from December 1659, for example, suggested that a tract entitled *The Declaration of Sir George Booth* was distributed by a stationer called Isaac Prigmore (or Pidmore), not only to other London booksellers, but also to women 'who sell pamphlets about the street'.[37] Cases such as this prompted yet another attempt by the authorities to restore order. In February 1660, therefore, the Council of State ordered the lord mayor and common council of London to try and restore order and decorum to the London pamphlet trade, and they did so because of 'the great dishonour that is cast upon the nation and government by persons who, forsaking their usual callings, accustom themselves as hawkers to sell and cry about the streets and other places pamphlets and books, and under colour thereof, to disperse all sorts of dangerous libels and other treasonable seditious and scandalous papers and pamphlets'.[38]

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[34] *CSPD 1650*, 185.

[35] Hertfordshire Record Office, QSR 9/221; *Hertford County Records. Notes and Extracts from the Sessions Rolls, 1581 to 1698*, vol. 1 (Hertford, 1905), 103.

[36] *Orders of His Highness the Lord Protector* [...] *for putting in speedy and due execution the laws* [...] *against printing unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets* (London, 1655), 112.

[37] W. Dunn MacRay et al., eds., *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1872–1970), 4:341.

[38] *CSPD 1659–60*, 343.

Thus, that the authorities in Restoration England should have been so concerned about the hawking of political tracts and pamphlets reflected an important change in the itinerant print trade that dated back to the early 1640s. Doubtless as a result of mounting political and religious tension, of the apparent collapse of press censorship, and of a commercialisation of printed polemic and news, it became possible to market new kinds of literature to a broad audience, and necessary in some cases to avoid the risks involved in selling controversial material in bookshops and on bookstalls. In an age when authors and journalists explicitly sought to reach a wider audience, itinerant sellers became a useful medium, and a means of satisfying popular demand, and this was true not merely in terms of hawkers and mercuries on the streets of London, but also in terms of pedlars and chapmen across the country. That such changes in the itinerant trade in print occurred beyond the capital reflects other changes in the book trade in the mid-17th century, to which attention must now turn.

II

The transformation of the itinerant print trade in the mid-17th century reflected more than just the tendency for hawkers and pedlars to carry political and topical pamphlets and newspapers, and two other developments can be detected after 1640, although there is only room here to address them fairly briefly.

The first of these developments saw London booksellers and publishers who had been heavily involved in the ballad trade, and who had developed fairly strong links with provincial pedlars, shifting away from a concentration upon traditional genres of printed wares, and towards new kinds of political and topical material, whether in terms of topical polemic, news or official propaganda.[39] This can obviously be explained by the fact that such material was difficult to publish in Britain before the circumstances of the early 1640s, given that topical and polemical debate was much more closely policed, and because the news industry was in its infancy, and was looked upon with significant suspicion by the authorities.[40] In the early 1640s, by contrast, as censorship became more difficult to enforce, as political and religious tension mounted, and as the country

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[39] This is noticed, briefly, by Watt, 'Publisher', 65, 67.
[40] C.S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008); L. Rostenberg, 'Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, first "masters of the staple"', *The Library*, 5th series, 12 (1957), 23–33.

slid into civil war, booksellers realised that circumstances had changed, and many naturally recognised the commercial opportunities which topical and polemic print offered, and probably sensed that new kinds of comment and news coverage were likely to prove marketable. Some may even have welcomed the chance to express their own political and religious views while also making money.

This shift in the publishing activities of key London stationers is evident, for example, from the career of John Wright, who dabbled with scandalous political literature in the early 1640s, and with the fledgling newspaper industry, before becoming a major figure in Parliament's official propaganda campaigns, particularly for the House of Lords and the Committee of Revenue.[41] Much more striking, however, is the case of Francis Coles, a fairly significant player in the ballad trade who became an important early convert to the publishing of newspapers and political pamphlets after 1641.[42] Coles capitalised on the thirst for news following the Irish Rebellion in 1641, and produced some editions of parliamentary speeches and official propaganda, but rose to prominence within the civil war print marketplace as the publisher of a number of newspapers, most notably the popular and influential *Perfect Diurnall* (1643–9). His attention only really returned to ballads, legends and popular history as the news industry became more tightly regulated in the mid-1650s, and as the Restoration approached.[43] What is particularly intriguing about the shift towards polemic, news and propaganda on the part of men like Wright and Coles is the possibility that they retained connections to groups of hawkers and pedlars with whom they had worked before the civil wars, in order to distribute their political pamphlets and newspapers. That this is indeed the case is suggested by another man who also shifted from traditional pedlar fare towards political pamphlets, Thomas Whitaker. In his will, drawn up in October 1649, Whitaker left bequests of 20 shillings

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[41] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 172, 275–6, 317; J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004), 44, 121–3, 208; C. Nelson & M. Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700* (New York, 1987), 724. Wright is difficult to distinguish from his kinsman, J. Wright junior, who may have been responsible for leading newspapers such as *Mercurius Civicus* and the *True Informer*: Plomer, *Dictionary* [...] *1641 to 1667*, 197–8.

[42] For the earlier career of Coles, or Coules, see Watt, *Cheap Print*, 75, 76, 234, 268, 274–6, 289–91, 293, 302, 311, 316, 317, 318; Spufford, *Small Books*, 94, 96, 98, 153n30, 265. Coles's later career is noted, briefly, by Watt, but overlooked by Spufford.

[43] Nelson & Seccombe, *British Newspapers*, 710; Plomer, *Dictionary* [...] *1641 to 1667*, 49–50; D. Wing, *Short Title Catalogue*, 3 vols. (New York, 1972–88), A4080AC, C2371A, D967A, N572, E1312A, G1827aA, H1780, H2013B, J807, P3364, P441E, P3404, B4431.

apiece to a group of sixteen named individuals whom he styled 'my good friends and chapmen', in order that they might each buy a remembrance ring.[44] It also seems to be evident from the fact that, during the republic, polemical pamphlets by John Milton were distributed to chapmen by Octavian Pulleyn, in order to be circulated beyond London.[45] In other words, the revolutionary decades seem to have witnessed not just the growth of the itinerant print trade, the entry into the business of various displaced and impoverished individuals, and the emergence of new kinds of specialist tradesmen and tradeswomen, but also changes in the kinds of texts that were carried by established pedlars, as a result of changes in the kinds of texts that were produced by their suppliers in London.

The final significant development after 1640 involved the stock of provincial booksellers. This period seems to have witnessed a significant growth in the provincial book trade, which has largely gone unnoticed by scholars preoccupied with the much more obvious developments of the early 18th century. Indeed, it seems clear not just that provincial bookselling was becoming more prevalent in the mid-17th century, but also that provincial booksellers, or rather those merchants who sold books as part of their stock, began to supplement traditional steady-sellers, such as books for schoolteachers and clerics, as well as almanacs and ballads, with newsbooks and political pamphlets.[46] As with London's publishers, in other words, provincial booksellers were responding to the circumstances of political and religious tension, and of civil war, and were doubtless catering to a new demand for information about national and local events which had such profound importance, and which affected so many lives in so many ways.[47] That they did so is evident, for example, from what is known about the stock of Oxford's booksellers during the 1640s, who seem to have sold a wide range of polemical literature, and even the most important parliamentarian pamphlets, even though the city was under royalist control.[48] Of course, Oxford is in many ways unrepresentative of

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[44] T[he] N[ational] A[rchives, Kew], PROB 11/209, f. 249ᵛ; Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, 80; Plomer, *Dictionary* [...] *1641 to 1667*, 192.

[45] BL, Add. 78259, f. 107.

[46] For the 18th century provincial book trade, see J. Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2008). More generally, see J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (London, 2007). For the traditional fare of provincial booksellers, and the involvement in bookselling of other merchants, see Barnard and Bell, 'English provinces', 667, 678.

[47] J. Peacey, *Common Politics. Print and Participation in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 2.

[48] J. Peacey, 'The popular print culture of Oxford, 1640–1660' (forthcoming).

provincial English towns and cities, given that it was a university town
with a sizeable book trade, and given also that it became the royalist capi-
tal during the civil wars. Nevertheless, it offers a valuable case study
because it is so well documented, and it is also intriguing to be able to note
just how important news and pamphleteering became to local booksell-
ers, just how diverse the stock of local traders became, and just how far the
market for pamphlets and news continued to expand long after the depar-
ture of Charles I and his supporters. Moreover, it is also possible to show
that what can be observed in Oxford can also be detected further afield. It
can be seen, for example, in the inventories of individual booksellers like
Robert Booth of Warrington, who died in 1648 leaving a stock that included
controversial religious pamphlets and remonstrances.[49] It is evident too
from the prosecution of men like the brothers Philip and Richard Unett of
Lichfield in 1651, who were accused of selling unlicensed pamphlets and
royalist newsbooks, including *Mercurius Pragmaticus* and *Mercurius
Melancholicus*.[50] The Chester bookseller William Thorppe even issued a
printed advertisement in 1657 that drew attention to the fact that he sold
'news weekly'.[51] The most startling evidence, however, emerges from a
1650s lawsuit involving another Chester bookseller, Richard Throp, and his
London supplier, Edward Dod. This case has previously been analysed for
the pamphlets and scholarly works which Throp sold, but it also reveals
that, during the 69 week period between July 1650 and November 1651,
Dod sent 102 parcels of newspapers, totalling 1,646 'sheets of news', or an
average of 16 sheets per delivery, with deliveries arriving every four or five
days. Although Throp obviously needed to pay for postage rather than
merely for the newspapers themselves, and although the postage costs
were often higher than the cost of the printed material, a selling price of
two pence for each eight-page pamphlet or newspaper would still have
given Throp a markup of almost 100%.[52] More importantly, the case indi-
cates that Throp was catering for a significant local market in national
newspapers, and if Hannah Barker is right to posit that in provincial
England individual copies of newspapers might have been read by as

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[49] W.H. Rylands, 'Booksellers and stationers in Warrington, 1639 to 1657, with the full list
of the contents of a stationer's shop there in 1647', *Transactions of the Historical Society of
Lancashire and Cheshire*, 37 (1888), 75–6, 86, 91, 97, 98. See also: C. Chilton, 'The inventory
of a provincial bookseller's stock of 1644', *The Library*, 6th series, 1 (1979), 126–43.

[50] TNA, SP 23/168, pp. 483, 485, 487, 491, 493.

[51] R. Stewart-Brown, 'The Chester stationers, printers and booksellers to about 1800',
Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 83 (1932), 144–5.

[52] TNA, CHES 15/61. See R. Stewart-Brown, 'A Chester bookseller's lawsuit of 1653', *The
Library*, 9 (1928), 53–8.

many as five different people, then in August and September 1650, Throp's newspapers might have catered to the needs of around 800 people per week in the Chester area.[53]

The enhanced availability of newsbooks and pamphlets in provincial England during the mid-17th century is also evident from the accounts of individual customers. During the early weeks of the civil war, for example, the Suffolk minister, John Rous, noted seeing a variety of news pamphlets at a bookshop in Bury St Edmunds,[54] while in 1643 the parliamentarian treasurer at war in Gloucester, Captain Blayney, was able to purchase official ordinances and a 'parcel of newsbooks' from a local merchant, Toby Jordan.[55] A minor member of the rural Yorkshire gentry like George Norton of Dishforth was also able to buy newsbooks from a variety of local towns during the 1650s,[56] while the Hatcher family acquired their news fairly regularly from Stamford in Lincolnshire.[57] Charles Howard of Naworth Castle even had an account with a Newcastle shoemaker for the provision of newspapers in the late 1640s, which was settled every few months.[58] The same also appears to have been true in the late 1650s of Daniel Fleming, whose supplies came from Kendal mercers such as Robert Jackson, Thomas Sandys, and James Simpson, whose bills were paid periodically by one of Fleming's servants, John Banckes, as and when he made business trips to the town from the family's seat at Rydal Hall.[59]

What is striking, therefore, is not simply that the conditions of the 1640s promoted the rise of commercial printed news and polemic, which is something that historians have long recognised. Rather, it is that much more specific claims can be made about the ways in which this impacted upon the marketplace of print. There is evidence, in other words, to suggest that publishers shifted dramatically away from ballads and popular piety and towards polemic and news, and evidence to suggest that this was reflected in the availability of pamphlets and newspapers across the

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[53] H. Barker, *Newspapers and English Society, 1695–1855* (London, 1999), 115.

[54] *Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642*, ed. M.A. Everett Green (Camden Society, lxvi, 1856), 123.

[55] TNA, SP 28/299, f. 364.

[56] West Yorkshire Archive Service (Leeds), WYL150/5982–4.

[57] Lincolnshire Record Office, HOLYWELL 82.

[58] *Naworth Estate and Household Accounts, 1648–60*, ed. C.R. Hudleston (Surtees Society, clxviii, 1953), 17, 53.

[59] *The Flemings in Oxford*, ed. J.R. Magrath (Oxford, xliv, 1904), 398, 400, 402. For later payments to Simpson for Fleming's 'diurnall bill', see pp. 405, 416, 423. Later, in 1665–6 diurnalls were also acquired from William Raine of Penrith: pp. 426, 431. Ballads may have been read by Fleming's wife: p. 407.

country. And what is also evident is that these developments occurred
rapidly, and fairly decisively, and the growth of provincial trade in political
pamphlets and news, and of the itinerant trade in political texts, seems to
have survived the Restoration, and may even have developed further.

III

The three developments with which this piece has been concerned—the
itinerant selling of political literature in London and the localities, popu-
lar print publishers turning to political literature, and the provincial sell-
ing of topical and polemical pamphlets and newsbooks—are important
individually, but together they are suggestive of a profound change in
political culture during the mid-17th century. Together they suggest that
the availability of newspapers and political pamphlets across the country
was dramatically enhanced during the 1640s and 1650s, and not at all lim-
ited to inhabitants of London, and together they prompt a reconsideration
of the degree to which there was a common reading culture during the
mid-17th century, and one which extended to news, politics and polemic,
as well as of the extent to which it is plausible to sustain a model of public
culture which involves distinct worlds of elite and popular politics.

Of course, not all of these developments would have affected all kinds
of people equally. It probably remained true that Londoners were better
served than their country cousins. It might also be objected that the ten-
dency for provincial booksellers to sell pamphlets and newspapers would
not have represented as striking or as direct a benefit to the most humble
readers as it did to members of the gentry. Nevertheless, such arguments—
especially as they relate to the country beyond London—should not be
exaggerated, and probably need to be challenged at least to some extent. It
is plausible, for example, to argue that most market towns witnessed some
kind of bookselling activity, and there is evidence that pamphlets were
purchased in places much smaller than cities and county towns. At the
same time, of course, it is probably true that the greatest beneficiaries of
these three developments would almost certainly have been the gentry.
For the gentry, much more obviously than for others, a range of methods
now existed for acquiring newspapers and topical pamphlets. There is cer-
tainly evidence that individual members of the gentry exploited a variety
of such methods, not least from the accounts of Lady Alice L'Estrange of
Hunstanton in Norfolk, who was able to acquire pamphlets and newspa-
pers by visiting London, by getting things sent down from London by
friends, and by corresponding with London booksellers such as Abel

Roper and Henry Seile, as well as by paying visits to bookshops at Cambridge, King's Lynn and Norwich. Even if people like L'Estrange did not leave their home, in other words, they could exploit both the postal system and the carriers in order to get material delivered to their door.[60] Moreover, members of the gentry like L'Estrange also supplemented these methods with purchases from local pedlars. L'Estrange purchased books to the value of 1s. 6d. from the Cresingham pedlar in May 1651, and more material worth 8d. in August 1652.[61] On one occasion in 1664, Daniel Fleming acquired from a pedlar not merely prognostications and poems by Gervase Markham, but also substantial books such as Johann Wolleb's *Abridgement of Christian Divinitie*, and law reports, to the value of 12s.[62]

While it is probably true that humble readers lacked the ability to exploit some of the opportunities for acquiring the latest newspapers and pamphlets which were enjoyed by members of the gentry, and by Londoners of all kinds, and while they were unlikely to be able to afford to exploit the system of carriers, or the postal system, they may nevertheless have benefited from all of the three key developments detectable after 1640s, particularly if these are considered together, and particularly if, collectively, they served to improve the stock of local pedlars. Moreover, to the extent that evidence indicates that provincial pedlars continued to be used by people from across the social spectrum after 1640, this surely suggests that not just that members of the gentry, from Frances Wolfreston to Samuel Pepys, enjoyed works often regarded as 'popular' literature, but also that humble readers were able to partake of the print revolution of the 1640s, and to consume material which had once been out of their reach.[63] This would certainly help to make sense of the evidence relating to discussions about parliamentary affairs which took place between 'threshers and mowers' in Somerset in July 1641, about which Florence Smyth of Ashton Court complained to her husband.[64] It would also help to explain the discussions about printed newspapers which took place at a

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[60] Norfolk RO, LEST P7, second pagination, pp. 206, 212, 257; LEST P10, pp. 17, 24, 36, 52, 54, 60, 67, 76, 80, 85, 86, 91, 96, 97, 99, 101, 116, 121, 130, 134, 138, 147, 156, 158. For concerns about the use of carriers to distribute scandalous literature, see: *CSPD 1649–50*, 552, 555. For dealings with London booksellers, see M.E. Bohannon, 'A London bookseller's bill: 1635–1639', *The Library*, 4th series, 18 (1938), 417–46.

[61] Norfolk RO, LEST P10, pp. 109, 130, 134.

[62] *Flemings in Oxford*, 421.

[63] For discussions of gentry consumption of popular literature, see Spufford, 'Pedlar', 19; Watt, 'Piety', 268.

[64] *Calendar of the Correspondence of the Smyth Family of Ashton Court, 1548–1642*, ed. J.H. Bettey (Bristol, 1982), 174.

barber's shop in Norwich in 1648,[65] and arguments which broke out about a Scottish pamphlet in the shop of William Chandley of Dover in 1645,[66] not to mention the row about Charles I which took place in the shop of Ambrose Frost of Ipswich in November 1642, and which was generated by 'printed papers newly come to town'.[67] In all of these cases local political culture can be shown to have reflected national issues—the issues about which the three nations went to war—and to have done so as a result of the availability of cheap pamphlets. In all of these cases, moreover, a political culture of debate and discussion regarding topical issues was generated by print, and enabled the participation of fairly humble local merchants and traders, and it was not restricted to the capital.

Indeed, the evidence presented in this piece suggests that, just as we need to examine a variety of early-modern literary genres—from ballads and songs through to newspapers and polemical pamphlets and more substantial treatises—and to accept the possibility that political substance could be found at all points along this spectrum from 'popular' to 'elite' texts, so too we need to look to a range of methods for distributing print. Scholars of early-modern pedlars such as Watt and Spufford have demonstrated that this was not a method of distribution which served an exclusively 'popular' audience, and have used their findings in order to support the idea that elite and popular culture were not yet distinct,[68] and it can now be demonstrated that newspapers and political and religious pamphlets came to be distributed in a wide variety of ways, and at all points along a spectrum of distributors which ran from provincial pedlars who catered for all kinds of readers right across the country, to any number of provincial booksellers, and from hawkers on the streets of London to more conventional booksellers, who served a more exclusive, and a more metropolitan, audience. Even if we concentrate our attention upon the possibilities for *purchasing* such works, rather than merely *gaining access* to them, it is important to recognise that a wider variety of tracts, and a great deal more news and polemic, was available to humble provincial as well as metropolitan readers after 1640. As such, we are forced to confront the possibility that the civil wars witnessed the emergence of a national market for newsbooks and pamphlets, and a political culture that was, to some extent at least, shared, irrespective of geographical location or social status.

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[65] Norfolk RO, NCR 12C/1, no. 94.
[66] BL, Add. 29624, f. 174.
[67] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bankes 52, f. 61.
[68] Watt, 'Publisher', 69, 71–2; Spufford, 'Pedlar', 19.

PART TWO

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ITINERANT DISTRIBUTION

THE CRIES OF LONDON FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A SHORT HISTORY

Sean Shesgreen

Early European Cries

London Cries are among the earliest of all popular prints to be designed, cut, and sold in England; these images are customarily classified as 'popular' because they were cheap to buy, repetitive in subject matter, and technically uncomplicated.[1] In these respects they were unlike Wenceslaus Hollar's 'fine' London prints, run off on high quality paper and executed with virtuosity and an inventiveness that appealed to collectors and rich connoisseurs. London Cries, selling for about sixpence a sheet, first appeared in the late 16th century, before the city had a single shop devoted to the exclusive sale of etchings, engravings, and woodcuts.[2] The earliest English Cries appeared without a title, without an artist's signature, without even a publisher's address or a studio name where prospective buyers could go to purchase these prints.

What were the origins of this genre, defined as images of the 'lower orders' and given added vivacity by brief texts recording their shouts or naming their callings? Who invented, engraved, and sold the earliest Cries in London? Who bought these images and who retailed them? In other words, how were they distributed? These issues require that we look at the economics surrounding the buying and selling of prints generally.

Finally how are pedlars and street sellers represented in such visual sources and what do they add to our knowledge of the popular press and its transmission in Europe between 1600 and 1900? Shakespeare, in his *Winter's Tale*, has Mopsa, a rural maidservant, declare: 'I love a ballad in

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[1] F.P. Wilson, 'Illustrations of social life, III: street cries', *Shakespeare Survey*, 13 (1960), 108–10, at 108. Wilson's list is updated by my 'Cries of London in the seventeenth century', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 86 (1992), 269–94.

[2] For the price of prints, see A. Globe, *Peter Stent London Printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver, 1985), 26–33; and T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge 1993), 11–12.

print, a'-life for then we are sure they are true', in order to mock the gull-ibility of those who took the content of printed matter to be literally true. Can modern scholars take images of hawkers in Cries to be reliable guides to the social and historical realities concerning the trades they depict? I will conclude this paper by reflecting at some length on this vexed issue.

While I focus on images of pedlars vending printed matter, I consider hawkers selling other goods as well. As a rule, hawkers did not specialize; they did not see themselves as confined to one line of goods or another. Most were generalists, according to Donald Lupton, an acerbic observer of hawkers: 'They change every day almost, for shee that was this day for Fish may bee to morrow for Fruit; next day for Hearbs, another for Roots: so that you must heare them cry before you know what they are funish'd withall.'[3] This fluidity of occupations is epitomized by the dizzying succes-sion of trades followed by a Wiltshire man who was 'sometimes a weaver, sometimes a surgeon, sometimes a minstrel, sometimes a dyer and now a bullard.'[4]

The earliest surviving example of this genre in Europe is a Cries of Paris published as a suite of eighteen woodcut leaves executed about 1500 by a northern artist (perhaps German) and printed in brilliant colors. The image shown here represents the hawker selling small *belles heures* and abcedaries (Figure 6.1).[5] Each image bears a phrase of three or four words evoking its vendor's shout: 'beaulr a b c belles heures.' The most influential surviving Cries in Europe, however, is Ambrogio Brambilla's *Cries of Rome* (Figure 6.2; reproduced here by kind permission of Alberto Milano). This sheet, titled *Ritratto de Quelli che Vano Vendendo et Lavorando per Roma con la nova Agionta de tutti Quelli che nelle altre Mancavano sin la Presente*, was published in 1582 and formatted as two hundred rectangular cells each about the size of a thumbnail (some vendors take up two cells). Most images show a street vendor offering his wares using an ostentatious ges-ture; an Italian text beneath the vendor identifies the object he is hawking. The last cell carries the sheet's date and publisher.

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[3] D. Lupton, *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into Several Characters* (London, 1632), 81.

[4] Quoted in T. Watt, 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: the changing character of the broad-side trade, 1550–1640', in R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850* (Winchester, 1990), 61–81, at 71.

[5] This set is beautifully reproduced in [no initial given] Massin, *Les cris de la ville* (Paris, 1985), 5–22.

Figure 6.1. Anonymous, Cries of Paris. Courtesy of Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris.
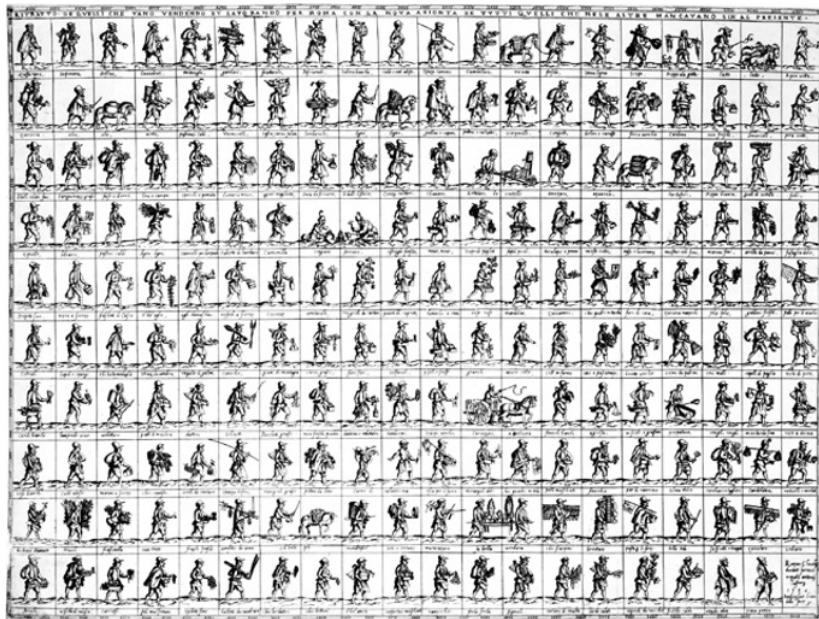
Figure 6.2. Ambrogio Brambilla, *Ritratto de Quelli che Vano Vendendo et Lavorando per Roma con la nova Agionta de tutti Quelli che nelle altre Mancavano sin la Presente*. Courtesy of Alberto Milano.

The First Cries of London

The Bellman of London, the first extant London Cries, follows the geometric format pioneered by Brambilla's *Cries of Rome*. Published around 1590, this English sheet does not slavishly copy Brambilla's format but varies it in subtle and resourceful ways.[6] Instead of enclosing hawkers inside a plain, rectangular box within a decorative border, *The Bellman* frames its pedlars in a suite of ornamental alcoves, each composed of an elegant, classical column set on a pedestal and crowned by a *fleur-de-lis* supporting a canopy, the top of which is invisible behind clouds. Below their sketchy, depersonalized likeness, hawkers' shouts appear, rendered not as single words but in short phrases: 'Buy a paire of shoos'. In the *Cries of Rome*, all hawkers march to the right and all are men. In *The Bellman*, some street

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[6] This date is my best estimate; for a discussion of this and other dates relating to early Cries, see my *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002), ch. 2.

sellers move left, while others stroll right; 22 are women and 15 are men, of which three are, by the evidence of their stature, boys. No vendor in *The Bellman* sells printed matter. But *The Common Cryes of London* from c. 1667 (Figure 6.3) urges its viewer to 'Buy a new Booke', mentions a newsbook called 'The Weekly inteligenc[er],' and locates the shop of the bookseller John Overton 'at the sign of the White Horse over against St. pulkers by newgat', thereby directly linking street vendors and their representation in engraved images to print production and distribution.

   The Bellman's most obvious shift is in the number of hawkers it features and in the dimensions of the space in which it depicts them. Instead of offering Brambilla's many hawkers on a sheet measuring 39.1 × 53 cm, the first London Cries shows just 37 figures on a relatively small broadside of 18.6 × 27 cm. In other respects, however, the English sheet preserves the aims and methods of Brambilla's *Cries of Rome*. The purpose of *The Bellman* is to offer a survey or supply a visual census of those people following what are called 'the little trades' of England's capital, a census which, as Melissa Calaresu suggests in this volume, emphasizes the variety and diversity of urban life. For this reason, *The Bellman of London* is just one in a series of such broadsides, each of which offers its own set of

Figure 6.3. Anonymous, *The Common Cryes of London*. Courtesy of British Museum, London.

unique figures. A sister sheet, using an identical framing device, features an entirely different cast of London hawkers.

Both these sheets survive in single copies; how close the second, *The Watchman of London*, came to perishing appears in a large tear in its upper right corner. Both sheets were probably engraved by the same artist, a continental craftsman visiting England at the end of the 16th century, though the sheet could have been cut on the continent, bespoke by a London publisher, less likely as no bookseller's address appears on either. The unknown artist's name does not surface on the sheet either. He was probably a draftsman-engraver working in the atelier of Franz Hogenberg, a Belgian engraver, etcher, and publisher. Active in London between 1568 and 1587, he returned to Germany where he executed *The Cries of Cologne* (*c*. 1590) in an analogous format and style.

As well as conducting a survey of London's street traders, the early broadsheets marshal them together on a single page or on two sister pages. This broadside format allows for the exposure and exhibition of street vendors (which were marginal, obscure, and fugitive London denizens) as a uniquely fascinating class of city people, diverse in ethnicity and other ways, rendering large numbers of them visible at a single glance. It thereby invites the viewer to compare one hawker to another in order to understand their homogeneity, as well as their heterogeneity. Looking at the *Bellman* and *Watchman* side by side or hung up on the wall of an inn, tavern, or ale house, as their buyers did, allows the viewer to see simultaneously how this population is allocated among London's curious street trades: the feather-bed drier, the washing ball seller, the monger of 'quick periwinckels'.[7]

In the two earliest sheets taken together, food sellers are the most numerous of all hawkers, with 33, nearly half of all street dealers in both sheets, selling uncooked edibles. Of this copious tribe of provisioners, fishmongers surpass others with 13 men and women selling an amazing array of ocean catch, everything from smelt to thornback. Only one hawker, the birds-and-hen man, sells meat. Fishmongers are followed in number by costermongers selling vegetables (nine in all, including medicinal scurvy-grass) and fruits (eight), including exotic edibles like pomegranates and figs.

Vendors of prepared foods, like oatcakes, mutton pies, eel pies, and sausages, are excluded from the count of victuals that hawkers trade in. Sausage sellers and their ilk belong with those selling goods manufactured

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[7] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978; Aldershot, 1988), 109.

or shaped in part by human agents: their number stands at fifteen. Nine figures offer services: some municipal, like the watch, others domestic and personal, like the men offering to mend glasses, carry water, cleave wood, and pick corns from feet.

Buyers of the First London Cries

The historical interest of the Cries, however popular with collectors and valued by antiquarians,[8] lies partly in the transmission of these images. Who bought them? And who sold them? These questions, as formulated, are unanswerable because they assume that Cries are an unchanging, homogenous genre. In fact, Cries take many different forms and change dramatically from their first appearance to their final disappearance, a period stretching over three centuries. Their formats, dimensions, and artistic styles vary, and so do their publishers, artists, audiences and prices. Those who bought the earliest Cries belong to a sharply different class of people from those who acquired images produced a century later. Any endeavor to say who made, sold, and bought Cries must categorize them into classes based on their manners, formats, mediums, and periods, and then attempt to specify their buyers and seller. I mean to attempt this task at different points in my essay, even as I eschew the study of the secondary or antiquarian market for Cries that began in the late 18th century.[9]

That said, it is possible to generalize (and speculate) about the distribution of Cries beginning in the 17th century. First it is important to distinguish between broadsheet ballads and engraved prints in single sheets, like Cries. Respecting ballads, we know quite a bit. In the early 17th century, booksellers commissioned versifiers to compose ballads which they printed and sold at wholesale for 13s. and 4d. a ream, that is, for a third of a penny per copy. Hawkers (who controlled the retail end of ballad selling) resold these sheets for a halfpenny each or two for a penny.[10] Images cut on wood or engraved on copper belonged to a different category of printed matter entirely; they were costly to commission and even more costly to produce because after an artist had created a design, that design had to be engraved on copper (an expensive commodity) or cut into wood by a

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[8] Evidence of this popularity appears in the bidding war for the images now published as W. Laffan, ed., *Cries of Dublin Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (Dublin, 2003).

[9] John Kirk's pack of playing cards, showing street its face cards as hawkers, features, on the six of hearts, an auctioneer offering the Cries. See below.

[10] Watt, 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet', 66.

skilled craftsman and then printed on paper of good quality. The resulting prints would have cost the consumer around 6 pence, more if from copper engravings.[11] This sum would have put the dealing in prints far beyond the means of ballad hawkers.

The first Cries seem to have been sold by the craftsmen who engraved them, vending them perhaps from their atelier. With the growth of shops specializing in print selling in London, which took off around 1650, people like Peter Stent, John Overton, and Robert Walton all sold Cries at retail and wholesale, publishing the names and addresses of their premises on each image. A broadsheet advertisement published by Walton, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, also solicits the patronage of a bookseller working in London and the provinces: 'If any Book-seller or other in City or Countrey want any thing of this kind, let them but send word to the above-said *R.W.* and I will take care to fit them as if they were present.' As Walton's advertisement suggests, people operating bookstores also sold prints; Pierce Tempest who commissioned and sold Laroon's *Cryes of London* also sold books.

When, at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th century, Cries took the form of miniature children's books, they become popular items with pedlars because they were small, light and cheap. One such volume*, Figures of Fun; or, Comical Pictures and Droll Verses for Little Girls and Boys* published by Charles Tilt in 1833 bears this inscription: 'Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Hoddle A present from Sidmouth by Aunt Sarah'.[12] How did the volume get to Sidmouth, where Aunt Sarah seems to have bought it? Perhaps the tiny, remote village of Sidmouth had a bookseller who ordered it from London. But more likely a pedlar serving this town sold to it Aunt Sarah there as he made his or her way along the Devon coast. Finally, Cries seems to have been sold at book auctions if we take, as I think we can, the evidence of *The Cryes of London Engraved and Sold by I Kirk* (1754). Kirk's Cries, published as a set of playing cards, shows an auctioneer selling off nine volumes of London Cries for two shillings, describing them as 'very fit to amuse Children of all Sizes; two Shillings They're a Going; a Going; a Going.' While this image is not proof that Cries were sold at auction, we do know that Kirk sold his Cries in his shop which also offered 'all sorts of English and Dutch Toys [...] a Grotto & water works to be seen free.'[13]

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[11] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 142.
[12] Copy in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
[13] Sotheby's was established in 1744 as Baker and Leigh and focused on selling books, as did Christie's, begun around 1759.

All narratives treating early sheets' distribution must be speculative, as no account survives to tell how these sheets were bought, collected, and preserved; clearly the vast majority of such images was destroyed. The sole intact collection in England is that of Samuel Pepys, whose albums of prints are preserved with his library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Cries in Pepys's collection would have ranged in price from sixpence to a half guinea.[14] In comparison, a copper bought a pot of ale or admission to the pit of the Globe theatre. Between 1580 and 1626, a labourer in the building trades earned between eight and ten pence a day, more between 1626 and 1639.[15] The cheapest of these sheets would have cost construction workers two thirds of a day's wages, a layout of cash almost prodigal. Such people, if they could read, would probably have purchased broadside ballads offering sagas of murders, floods, witches, monsters, and tempests. Or they would have sought out news sheets chronicling the tumultuous political events occurring in England in the late 16th and 17th centuries.

When London Cries first appeared, the print market was not yet divided up into popular and elite, the first sharply separated from the second. These images enjoyed broad appeal and were bought by England's middling sort: lawyers, bureaucrats like Pepys, and clergymen like the one shown in Kirk's auction scene.[16] But they also drew the eye of those in social registers abutting the middle classes: teachers, clerks, small shopkeepers, alehouse owners, petty merchants, innkeepers, and booksellers, as well as a few people in the better-paid shut-in trades, like shoemakers and cordwainers but not cobblers. Such buyers did not need to be literate to enjoy these images. Most of these purchasers did not collect prints; they used them, passing them from hand to hand to study their characters and note their callings, or they pasted them up to cheer the bare walls of their rooms, offices, garrets, and shops, as Hogarth's distressed poet and his harlot, Moll Hackabout, do. Walton, active as a print seller of domestic and continental images from the middle of the 17th century forward, linked his London Cries to maps and allegories of the seasons and temperaments, recommending them as 'a most commodious ornament for every man's house, and there you may either have it in paper coloured or not, or else on clothe, with or without rollers and ledges.'[17] Buyers wealthier than the

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[14] For the price of prints in the 17th century, see Globe, *Peter Stent*, 26–33.
[15] P. Brown & S.V. Hopkins, 'Seven centuries of building wages', in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., *Essays in Economic History*, 3 vols. (London, 1954–62), 2: 177.
[16] Pepys began as a man of modest means but ended up very wealthy.
[17] A. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London, 1986), 105.

middling sort, including prosperous elites, also bought these Cries as curiosities, though they seem not to have preserved them in their collections but rather to have discarded them after their novelty had worn off. The survival rate of an individual copy was one in ten thousand, Tessa Watt estimates.[18] Only the well-to-do government bureaucrat Samuel Pepys made a practice of buying these early broadsides systematically; in fact, he even bought them in different copies or states and preserved them in his collection of prints illustrating the city of London and its history.[19]

How does the history of reading bear on the market for Cries, on their buyers and collectors? Between 1600 and 1800, when Cries made their debut and became popular, literacy in England grew rapidly so that by the beginning of the 19th century most adult males could read and write.[20] Certainly this growing literacy would have enlarged and enhanced the potential audience for Cries, but perhaps not in great numbers. The textual or verbal features of Cries during the first 250 years of the genre's existence was minimal, amounting to only three or four words or, at most, a phrase rendered as a caption or footer in a tiny script difficult to read. The chief draw of Cries was and remains the visual image, though the text, necessarily supplemental, was probably appreciated by literate viewers. However, the brevity and simplicity of the texts to Cries may well have had special appeal to illiterate or more likely semi-literate consumers, eager to use them as a tool to acquire an elementary proficiency in reading.

Broadsheet London Cries from the Late Seventeenth Century

Between 1590, when the *Bellman* made its debut, and 1673, when Robert Walton published the last of the early sheet Cries from his print shop at 'the Globe on the North side of St Pauls Church the Corner shop turning towards Ludgate', twelve surviving Cries appeared in a variety of layouts. All are formally related to the single sheet woodcut, engraving, or etching derived from Brambilla's *Cries of Rome*. Some are imitations of the *Bellman*, done by energetic English engravers, journeymen who produced quick, lively sheets for a wide market. *The Common Cryes of London* is one example. It appeared in two states, one showing a rat-catcher in its large central

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[18] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 141.
[19] Richard Luckett, *The Cryes of London: The Collection in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Leeds, 1994).
[20] J.P. Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Context of Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (New York, 1990), 65.

panel and the second featuring a bookseller and bearing the address of its publisher, John Overton, working at the White Horse, 'over against St. pulcers by newgat'. Later broadsheet Cries are more illusionistic, their figures are larger in scale, and they show more details about hawkers' dress, wares, and tools of trade than previous designs do. The most striking is the stylized, richly particularized *The Manner of Crying Things in London*, formatted as 32 designs appearing in two large sheets sold originally by Peter Stent for about *2s*. It is represented here by one of those two sheets re-engraved later by W. Herbert (Figure 6.4). That sum limited the buyers of these twin sheets, which sold to the middling sort and the rich who were print collectors. Copies survive in the collections of Pepys, the Guildhall Library, London, and the Huntington Library, California (acquired from the library of the Earl of Ellesmere who, in his own hand, gave it the title it bears today). What is most remarkable about this sheet showing 16 men and 16 women is the wide spectrum of hawkers it features, ranging from the elegant and stylishly dressed vendor of 'fresh Cheese and Creame' wearing a gown with lace collar and cuffs, to the desperate indigent begging 'Some broken Breade and meate for ye poore prisnors.'

The Manner of Crying Things in London was the last important sheet of Cries to appear in the 17th century. However, Cries formatted as broadsheets and as strips remained popular until the disappearance of the genre; these were not cheap images run off on flimsy paper but commonly political satires and cartoons. In 1797, the inventive Richard Newton produced three colored strips titled the *Cries of London.* Political satires, these highly finished, brilliantly coloured images offer masterful caricatures of the most celebrated men and women in public life during the late 18th century, most notably Charles James Fox who poses as a counterfeiter buying or selling 'Any bad Shillings'. Edmund Burke appears as a stage Irishman selling old shoes and cudgels: 'Here's my fine Shillelees for Jacobin backs and Irish Brogues for the French Clergy, who buys, who buys, ho!' Harkening back to *The Manner of Crying Things*, the bookseller Oliver Hodgson issued an untitled sheet of 16 hawkers in the mid-19th century. Though tiny, Hodgson's images are riveting for their dark techniques and bleak moods (Figure 6.5). These include 'The Giant' who, in a bizarre artistic conceit, sells dolls that look like Lilliputian human beings whom he hoists aloft by their hair. More sinister still is the knife sharpener whose sunken eye and menacing look make him a macabre figure, perhaps a murderer or murderer's assistant. In an erotic mood, Hodgson's grotesque fishmonger leers seductively at a naïve young woman to whom he serves two phallic eels.

Figure 6.4. Anonymous, *The Manner of Crying Things in London*. Courtesy of Guildhall Library, London.

The First Cries of London Published as Ensembles

The chief strengths of early Cries formatted as single sheets were several: they made use of verbal texts; their figures were formally uncomplicated and easily apprehended; their tone was factual and prosaic; their execution was economical, even diagrammatic; and they were notably lacking

O. Hodgson, Fleet Street, London.
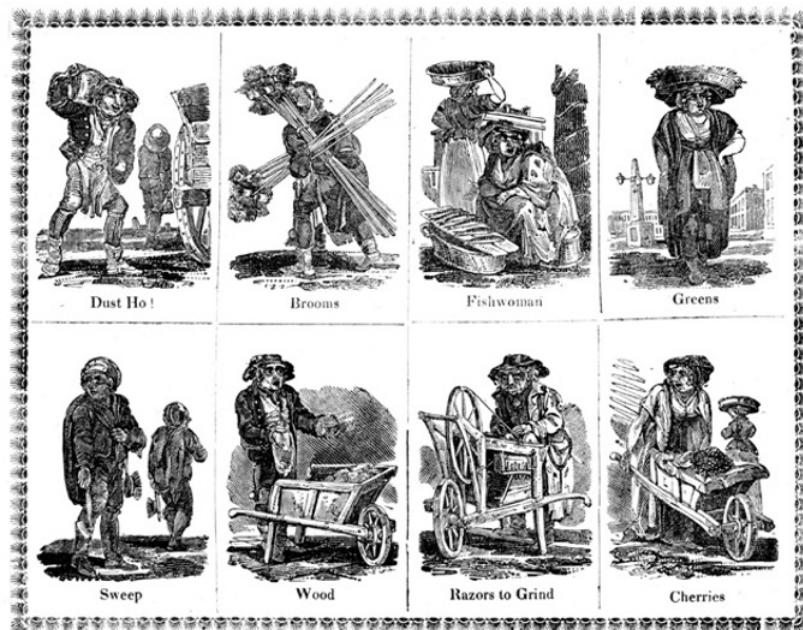
Figure 6.5. Oliver Hodgson, *Cries of London*. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

in satire or caricature. Their weaknesses were also various: they were rep-
etitious, perhaps to the point of monotony, and they lacked detail so that
it was difficult to tell one pedlar from another and more difficult still to
decipher their tools and wares, especially in the earliest images like *The
Bellman* and *The Watchman.* And if their figures were uncomplicated they
were also flat and schematic, lacking illusionism. In terms of technique,
the sheets were cut in a straightforward style that eschewed finesse, com-
plexity, or finish. Even today, numbers of art historians moralise such dif-
ferences in technique, confusing issues of social class with aesthetic
hierarchy. These scholars use differences in register to devalue early Cries,
which they label crude, primitive, and disappointing while dismissing
their makers as hacks and no-accounts.[21]

Voicing this very prejudice, John Evelyn, the 17th-century connoisseur,
called such early craftsmen 'lamentable fellows'.[22] His bias aside, he did
point to an important transformation in Cries that took place at the end of
the 1600s. This complex metamorphosis involved transformations in con-
tent, style, aesthetic taste, audience, and print collecting by which early
broadside sheets were eclipsed by suites of Cries financed by ambitious
booksellers, drawn by established artists, cut by skilled needle workers,
and sold by print dealers, bookshop owners, and coffee houses proprietors
to rich collectors. This transformation was spearheaded in England by the
vision of an ambitious London bookseller, Pierce Tempest, with premises
'over against Somerset House in the Strand'.

Tempest, alive to the increasing popularity of images of hawkers as well
as the expanding market for prints in England and that market's transfor-
mation,[23] sought out an established artist of continental pedigree to draw
a suite of sketches showcasing London's street vendors. He found that art-
ist in Marcellus Laroon, born in The Hague and trained there by his father,
a French artist, who transported him to London after the Restoration of
Charles II. Laroon, commissioned by Tempest, drew a suite of about 80
sketches of London hawkers to be cut by the English engraver Richard
Savage (aided by anonymous copper engravers in his atelier), and pub-
lished as *The Cryes of the City of London Drawne after the Life. The Cryes of
the City of London* of 1687, the first of eight or more different editions
appearing between that date and 1821, offered a suite of 40 single-leaf
prints. Wildly popular, this initial suite of 40 images quickly expanded

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[21] See, for example, Wilson, 'Illustrations of social life, III: street cries', 108.
[22] Quoted in Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain*, 72.
[23] T. Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven, 1997) 25–48.

to 74.[24] Tempest described the expanded fifth edition of 1709 in the following terms: 'The Cries and Habits of the City of *London* drawn after the Life. By Mr. Laroon, Engraven on Copper; and printed on 74 Sheets of Paper [...] printed for, and sold by, P. Tempest at the Golden Head in *James street, Covent Garden*, and at the Italian Coffee House in *Katherine street*, in the *Strand*.'[25]

Who Bought The Cryes of the City of London Drawne after the Life*?*

Laroon's *Cryes*, costing a half guinea, was expensive; so many copies of it have survived, several bearing the names or bookplates of their proud owners. Buyers of the album were both English and Continental. English purchasers belonged to two categories, both composed entirely of men. The largest group was wealthy, middle-class individuals; the best-known of these being Samuel Pepys, and the English historian (briefly, a Member of Parliament), Narcissus Luttrell. Both men's copies have survived to the present day.[26]

A number of copies coming to market, or otherwise surfacing from wealthy private libraries since 1990 suggest that the book was as popular with aristocrats as it was with the bourgeoisie.[27] The suite's appeal to Sir John Mill, the Duke of Marlborough (who acquired most of Laroon's original drawings), and William Cavendish, first Duke of Devonshire, may be explained in part by the fact that *Cryes* served as prompts and *aide memoires* to amateur artists copying the human figure in its various poses so as to acquire a connoisseur's dexterity with pen and pencil. One Ebenezer Taylor honed his skills as a draftsman by laboriously and systematically imitating, in pen-and-ink, 62 of Laroon's figures, copied onto sheets which he bound together into a volume bearing his own signature.[28]

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[24] For the various editions of Laroon's and Tempest's work, see my *Criers and Hawkers of London* (Stanford, 1990), 50–54.

[25] Edward Arber, ed., *Term Catalogues 1668–1709*, 3 vols. (Bedford Park, 1906), 3: 647.

[26] Pepys copy is in Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Luttrell's in the British Museum, London.

[27] I estimate that twenty copies or more of this volume are preserved in British and American libraries today with multiple copies at the Huntington and the Lilly Libraries. Documented owners include Pepys, Luttrell, von Uffenbach, Horace Walpole, J.T. Smith, one Richard Butler, William Beckford, and Ebenezer Taylor, whose pen-and-ink copies of Laroon are in the McCormack Rare Book Room, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

[28] Copy at McCormack Rare Book Room, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

But the *Cryes* was also bought by continental European readers, both on English soil and abroad. Tourists visiting England acquired the book as a remembrance and souvenir of what they had seen in London when they visited there. Melissa Calaresu addresses the subject of tourism and the taste for Cries in the present volume, so I will limit my narrative to one anecdote. The German scholar, bibliophile, tourist, and paleographer, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), in his travelogue, *London in 1710*, records strolling into 'a print dealers and bought the "Cryes of London" in seventy-four sheets for half a guinea. In these engravings all those persons who hawk cheap wares, crying them in the street, are represented from life with the words they cry. They are similar to the "Cris de Paris." One can also obtain them with notes, for the curious tones that they call or sing can be freakishly imitated on the violin. They had no copies left of this last variety with the notes.'[29] Since no copy with notes has survived and von Uffenbach did not actually see one, the existence of such a volume is doubtful.

Writing about the export of English prints to Germany, Tim Clayton says, 'There is little evidence that the cheapest stratum of English prints, the "copper royals" and broadsheet woodcuts, were exported to and distributed on the continent on any scale.'[30] This statement is certainly true between 1760 and 1802 and also for the earliest London Cries from the 16th and early 17th centuries. But all that changes with Laroon's *Cryes*, not covered in Clayton's essay. Pierce Tempest, from the point at which he conceived his suite of prints, showed a keen awareness of the globalization of trade taking hold at the end of the 17th century. He intended to sell his images on the Continent as well as to continental visitors in London. He engraved the title page first in English, French, and Italian (with information in Latin: 'P Tempest excudit' and so on), aware, of course, that this trilingual arrangement would collaterally raise the suite's standing in the minds of British connoisseurs—wealthy men like Horace Walpole building cabinets of prints which they valued for their technical virtuosity, material originality, and expressive power. Tempest also rendered hawkers' shouts in Italian and French as well as in English. And he did so, not by translating them literally (some were untranslatable) but by carefully seeking vernacular equivalents for them. So 'Colly Molly Puff', a vendor's

[29] Z.C. von Uffenbach, *London in 1710 from the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach*, trans. and ed. W.H. Quarrels & M. Mare (London, 1934), 154–5.
[30] T. Clayton, 'The export of English prints to Germany 1760 to 1820', in A. Milano, ed., *Commercio delle stampe e diffisione delle immagini nei secoli xviii e xix* (Rovereto, 2008), 149–58, at 150.

name, becomes 'Bonne Patiserie a vendre' and 'Torte e Pasticci da vendere'; 'Madam Creswell', the famous bawd, is 'Une Maquerelle' and 'Vecchia rufiana'; while 'London's Gazette here' translates into 'Nouvelle Gazette' and 'Chi Compra gl'auisi de Londora'. Evidence for the success of Tempest's plan to sell his suite on the Continent is meager; but copies of the *Cryes* are preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, and in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. More compelling evidence of the appearance of Laroon's figures on the Continent surfaces in the work of the Amsterdam artist Jacob Gole (1660–1737). He etched ten of Laroon's designs, to which he added titles in Dutch, suggesting that the suite circulated among print collectors and professional engraver/publishers (like Gole) who believed in a demand for aftermarket copies on the continent.[31]

Tempest aimed his volume at connoisseurs, calling it 'fit for the Ingenious and all Lover of Art'.[32] By 'ingenious' he meant 'intelligent, discerning, sensible' (OED), connotations now obsolete. Tempest's and Laroon's (probably both were involved in these decisions) formal innovations were threefold. First, they magnified the scale of the Cries, devoting a single sheet measuring 18×26 cm to each hawker, so that a leaf previously bearing the likeness of 37 hawkers now showed a single figure greatly magnified. Second, they multiplied the number of hawkers portrayed, increasing the 37 figures in early broadsides to 74 hawkers. Third, they realised the images in a style tutored by the canons of high art, after which the designs were cut by trained engravers using more polished styles.

The Flowering of the London Cries after Laroon

The history of the London Cries from the late 17th century forward can best be understood as a series of increasingly inventive responses to Marcellus Laroon's ensemble, beginning with slavish plagiarism, moving on to competition and modernization, and ending with reinterpretation and exhaustion in small books for children at the end of the 19th century. Theft is one of the sincerest forms of appreciation, and in the realm of graphic art, plagiarism expresses admiration, a recognition of a work's market appeal, so the many instances in which Laroon's *Cryes* was copied

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[31] See S. McTighe, 'Perfect deformity, ideal beauty and the *imaginaire* of work: the reception of Annible Carracci's *Arti di Bologna* in 1646', *Oxford Art Journal*, 16 (1993), 75–91.
[32] *Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber 3: 240.

in the decades after its debut are among the strongest indications of how widely it was coveted. The earliest of these plagiaries took the form of a set of six sheets, five of which showed twelve vendors and a sixth featuring nine vendors plus four elegantly-dressed women allegorizing the seasons. Each sheet measures 29 × 19 cm, so its vendors are miniaturized, with the tiny figures fitting into rectangles of 2 × 1.5 cm. Each figure is copied in a manner faithful to the original, but without its precision or polish; every hawker's shout appears at the top of and inside his or her frame. All six sheets were the work of John Overton, who charged perhaps two shillings for the set, selling them at the White Horse, outside Newgate.[33]

Overton's was not the only plagiary on the market, however: an anonymous etcher's set of 21 Laroon-based figures measuring 16 × 11 cm, and a second set of 72 images, chiefly copies of Laroon, was sold by 'John Bowles—at the Blackhorse in Corn hill.'[34] The varied formats of these three plagiaries evoke buyers from radically different social registers; however, all point to a robust demand for the content of Cries, without respect to the style in which they were engraved or the layout in which they were printed. Overton's sheets, selling for a few shillings and bearing no verbal allusion to Laroon, seem to have been aimed at the same public who acquired the earliest 17th-century broadsheets. Bowles's *Cries of London Engraved after ye Designs made from ye life by M Lauron* (which also bears a French title, *Les Cris de la Ville de Londres*) clearly targets buyers wanting Laroon's *Cries*: thus the prominent evocation of his name: 'Designs made from ye: life by M Lauron.' Buyers of this volume were made up of people unable to pay half a guinea but willing to spend two or three shillings or so for copies that, at 11 × 7.5 cm, were larger than Overton's shorthand figures.

It is wrong to imagine that these sheets were mere miniaturisations of the *Cryes*, adding nothing new to Laroon's suite. For example, Overton's suite appends four allegories of the seasons, invaluable for showing how early artists, booksellers, and buyers understood images of hawkers. Cries, in the eyes of artists and audiences, constituted a category of popular programmatic art like depictions of the seasons, the times of the day, the four continents, the hierarchy of the Catholic church from Pope to priest, the four temperaments, or the planets and those people whose temperaments they ruled. Such art took as its aim the mapping of the visible world. Indeed Robert Walton's advertisements for his prints offered a map of

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[33] Not recorded in Beall.
[34] Beall, E12 and E13.

England 'inlarged with severall pictures, as the 5 Senses, the 4 Seasons, the Elements, and the Cries of London and the like.'

After Laroon: Amigoni, Sandby, and Rowlandson

Jacob Amigoni's London Cries, which appeared on the market in 1739, is very different in style from all other images of hawkers that preceded it. His suite is made up of four engravings, all of which show London street hawkers as children ten or twelve years old. Amigoni, a Continental artist like Laroon, first painted his Cries of London as oils, which he either sold or donated to the celebrated Italian soprano Farinelli, then sojourning in England. But the artist also retailed polished print copies at his studio in Great Marlborough Street, London, targeting not only buyers who wanted them for children but also connoisseurs collecting engravings for inclusion in their cabinets of prints. Despite similarities in format to *The Cryes of the City of London*, *Golden Pippins* (Figure 6.6) and Amigoni's other designs are conceits, make-believe designs using beggars and waifs posing as hawkers to satisfy mid-century audiences' relish for sensibility. Better yet, they are elaborated pictures; that is, sentimental but generic likeness of children and peasants posed with ingratiating expressions and charmingly contrived airs to play out oddly dissonant adult roles. In this respect, Amigoni anticipates the better-known examples of the genre produced by Sir Joshua Reynolds and by Thomas Gainsborough in the decade before the latter's death in 1788.[35]

Did Jacob Amigoni's saccharine Cries mould *12 London Cryes done from the life by P Sandby 1760*? It certainly would be difficult to find two sets of Cries more divergent in their treatment of children. Amigoni's cherubic youths become, in Sandby, a bare-foot, ill-clad gamine neglected by her guardian devouring Kitty Fisher's scabrous ballad or, in his title page, the waif whose dinner is menaced by a mongrel. In the context of Sandby's larger artistic purposes, however, Amigoni was not as central to this Englishman's *Cryes* as Marcellus Laroon's suite. Though he had been dead more than fifty years, Laroon's work was alive and thriving: his *Cryes of the City of London* was published by Robert Sayer in an updated edition around 1759, to which Sandby replied a year later with his twelve etchings. These graphic images, technically bold and edgy in their subjects, are

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[35] I. Chilvers. 'Fancy pictures', *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* [2003], <http://www.encyclopedia.com> [23 Apr. 2010].

Figure 6.6. Jacobo Amigoni. *Golden Pippins*. Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum, New York.

the most mordant and complex images of English street vendors ever cre-
ated. Selected from over a hundred watercolour Cries, most unpublished
and still unstudied, the watercolours were intended as the first of six
serializations he planned to sell with a view to establishing a new aes-
thetic blending satire and sympathy in the depiction of street hawkers—
title pages to the second and third installments, ready for the etcher's
needle, survive among his studies. But the first sulfurous set probably did
not sell well, and Sandby seems to have abandoned his scheme.[36] Copies
of the etchings were bought by Sir Joseph Banks, Maria Walpole and
Horace Walpole, all well-to-do patrons of Sandby. The title page gives no
address for purchase, but features the artist's name; they were probably
carried by all London print shops and certainly sold by Sandby himself.

Laroon's *Merry new Song* (Figure 6.7), when compared with Sandby's
Blind Fiddler, Ballad Seller and Child (Figure 6.8), illuminates the associa-
tions but also the differences between the two men's rival images. Laroon's
Song depicts a couple hawking ballads, dressed in high elegance, singing
and dancing together in an expression of ideal conjugal harmony. In a
caustic critique of Laroon's blissful image, Sandby's *Blind Fiddler, Ballad
Seller and Child* depicts a destitute family of street performers composed
of a sightless musician, his disgruntled wife, and a surly child who impedes
their flight, perhaps from a crime scene. Ballad sellers were reputed to be
the confederates of thieves; the former gathered large audiences and dis-
tracted them so that the latter could more easily rob them.[37]

Sandby, the first great English artist to execute a suite of hawkers, is of
enduring importance in the history of London Cries because he embraced
a style shaped by the conventions of high art executed in a large format.
But Laroon and Amigoni had done this too. What they had not done was
introduce into the genre an aesthetic debate between artists who are
romantic and idealistic (Laroon and Amigoni) and a different set who are
darkly realistic and satirical (Sandby and Rowlandson). This debate is
reprised in the images of Francis Wheatley and Rowlandson, the two
graphic artists who ushered the genre into the 19th century and moved it
toward its finale. Wheatley and Rowlandson's reprise is best illustrated by
their ballad sellers, perennially popular characters in Cries.

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[36] These watercolors are dispersed chiefly among the following institutions: Yale Center
for British Art, Museum of London, the Huntington, and Nottingham City Museum and Art
Gallery. Some are in private hands or untraced.
[37] According to John Gay's *Trivia* (London, 1716) 'these *Syrens* stand / To aid the Labours
of the Diving Hand.' And lest his meaning be unclear he added, 'Confed'rate in Cheat, they
draw the Throng, / And *Cambrick* Handkerchiefs reward the Song' (Book III, 58).

Figure 6.7. Marcellus Laroon, *A Merry new Song*. Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Figure 6.8. Paul Sandby, *Blind Fiddler, Ballad Seller, and Child*. Courtesy of the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

At the end of the 18th century, the always-insolvent Francis Wheatley, looking back to Laroon's exploitation of the tie between idealization and high sales, rehabilitated ballad vendors in his *New Love Song* (Figure 6.9) painted to be cut by London's most fashionable stipple engravers from Italy. Wheatley's design offers perfect children, a friendly dog, picturesque rustics, and well-dressed women whose demeanors are marked by a refined voluptuousness. Answering Wheatley's glorified ballad seller, Thomas Rowlandson's gleeful *Last Dying Speech and Confession* of 1799 recasts Wheatley's own clichéd elements (though perhaps 'debases' would be a better description). In so doing, Rowlandson offers a howling dog, a bawling, obese ballad woman dressed in rags, and a criminal youth, who is her child and/or confederate, committing the kind of crime narrated in her gallows ballad.

London Cries for Children in the Nineteenth Century

More London Cries appeared in the 19th century than in the previous three combined. From 1580, when the first London Cries surfaced, to 1700,

Figure 6.9. Francis Wheatley, *A New Love Song*. Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

17 different images or states of images survive. From 1700 to 1800, 40 Cries survive. From 1800 to 1900, 87 suites have been documented.[38] Some 75% of these take the form of Cries for children; many of them are miniature volumes, others are chap books run off inexpensively, but a few are designed with skill, produced with care, and colored by hand. This large class of Cries is not as well-known as it deserves, even though, in terms of its distribution by pedlars, booksellers and toy shop owners, it certainly reached a wider audience than Sandby's images and played a vital role in child pedagogy. As Linda Lapides shows, small books of Cries for young people 'were on the list of almost every publisher of juveniles' after the turn of the century.[39] For that reason I want to illustrate this genre by looking at its most characteristic example in detail.

The Cries of London, as they are daily exhibited in the Streets; with an epigram in verse, adapted to each. Embellished with sixty-two elegant Cuts first appeared in 1771, published by Francis Newbery, who sold this tiny volume (11 × 8 cm) retail and wholesale for sixpence.[40] It was reissued in 1775, 1784 (by E. Newbery), 1791, 1796, 1799, 1802, and 1805. Newbery called his 1806 issue his '10th edition.' Even by today's blockbuster standards this volume was a runaway success, a *Harry Potter* of its age.

The book's 1775 preface, strikingly democratic in spirit, argues 'that real Knowledge is to be obtained in the public Places, not in sleepy Cloisters; by an accurate attention to the minds and dispositions of Men (the great springs of all human actions)'. It proposes that many a shrewd Philosopher and honest man may be found 'among the lowest and most unnoticed […] Hence it surely follows, that the very meanest, as they are generally termed, of human society, are far from being unworthy of our attention.'[41] The book's 'elegant Cuts' offer simple, direct and accessible images (many pirated from Laroon) showing a vast assortment of London's street traders, with a view to introducing children to the respectable traders, callings, and the activities outside their doors. These texts had additional aims, the first of which was to teach their owners writing, spelling, and vocabulary, using eight-line stanzas in the form of rhyming couplets. Here is the commentary to the vendor of ground ivy and watercress:

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[38] These figures come from my unpublished *New Hand List of London Cries*, available in searchable form by request. A copy is deposited in Guildhall Library, London.

[39] L. Lapides, writing in her introduction to a Garland reprint of *The Cries of London as They are daily exhibited in the streets* (New York, 1977), xiii.

[40] I have not traced the first edition of 1771, advertized in *London Chronicle* 8–10 Jan., 1771.

[41] *The Cries of London as They are daily exhibited in the Street; with an epigram in verse, adapted to each* (London, 1775), iii–v.

> O'er nerve relaxing tea no longer waste
> The morning hour; did you know the taste
> Of home-found Ivy, you would ne'er explore
> For foreign shrubs a distant Indian shore:
> And ye, with dire scorbutic Ills 'o'er run,
> All wretched nostrums and their vendors shun,
> The Cress will all cutaneous illness mock
> Then quit the aid of Flugger and of Rock!

Rhymes such as this, abandoning any attempt to evoke the actual shouts of real street vendors (as Laroon and others do), stress vocabulary (and ambitious vocabulary at that: 'scorbutic,' 'nostrums,' 'cutaneous' seem beyond most children). But the complex verses are also ideological in tone: recommending industriousness, advocating national chauvinism, condemning luxury (especially from abroad), warning against quack doctors (Flugger and Rock were notorious charlatans of the period), and endorsing folk remedies as preservatives of health and well-being.

Three different owners of these little books wrote their names in their copies, recording their connection, ownership, and transmission, however anecdotal. The Houghton Library copy (1796) at Harvard is inscribed 'Lucy Pease's Book, Suffield' in the hand of a young child. The Newberry Library copy (1802) bears this legend in the hand of Sir Thomas Phillipps: 'This is a different Edition to the one which I had when a Child. That was bound in exactly the same kind of covers, but I remember that the "Cucumber Cry" had these two lines in it. "Cucumbers are so very cold / They are not at all a dainty" /TP 1860/ Middle Hill.' Phillipps's *Cries*, the treasured property of an elite man, evokes an appeal crossing barriers of class and gender.

Finally, a 1799 copy in the collection of Linda Lapides, Baltimore, bears this richly informative inscription on the front end paper: 'Miss Lucy C. Shattuck. from her Aunt Mrs. John Derby. Sudbury St. Boston. Saturday August 13. 1831. This book once belonged to her mother. Elisa C. Davis.' These words testify to the value that three different owners ascribed to this tiny book, while also elevating it to the standing of an object of inheritance. As well as offering evidence of transgenerational appeal and bequest value, the inscription provides evidence of the *Cries's* transatlantic draw. Newbery's *Cries* of 1775 was sold in the United States, but it was also published there in 1805, where it was the most successful of all such transplants, enjoying many different American editions prior to 1821, although with certain alterations, according to Lapides.[42]

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[42] Lapides, *Cries of London*, xviii.

As the 19th century draws to a conclusion, images of street hawkers change in content as well as title due to the fact that these designs appear in new mediums, the most spectacular of which is photography. I have included in my 19th-century count the photographs of John Thomson in such collections as his pioneering *Street Life in London* (1877). Whether Thomson's remarkable book and others quite unlike it—for example, *Pictures from the Streets. Aunt Manor's Toy Book* (1875?)—are Cries strictly speaking is debatable. The last set of images showing street vendors titled 'Cries' is a late edition of John Leighton's *London Cries and Public Edifices from Sketches on the Spot by Luke Limner*; it was published by Griffith and Farron, active between 1865 and 1884.[43]

Cries as Social Art

I want to end by returning to the last of the four questions with which I began: what do Cries say about the popular press and its distributors in Europe between 1600 and 1900? Let me begin with a general, theoretical reflection on the usefulness of Cries as an historical source with documentary value. The objection to such usefulness and to the evidentiary value of all art may be stated in these terms: when hawkers are depicted in paintings, drawings, and prints, they undergo a reverse incarnation whereby they are transformed from living human beings to stereotypes, representations, and ciphers.[44] These stereotypes are tutored by previous art, a topic addressed by both Jeroen Salman and Karen Bowen in this volume. Or they are governed by aesthetic principles of art, as appears in the image of Laroon's rope-dancer. Performing on the slack rope, 'The famous Dutch woman' vaults over her line, but the image fails to record the distorting effect that her weight would have had on the rope; instead the rope preserves a perfect semi-circle, even where she grasps it with her hand and lays her full weight on it. The Dutch woman teaches us that such images must be approached with care if viewed as documents mirroring actuality. No doubt they are best read in the context of court records, diaries, travel books, advertisements, and newspapers.

Still, images of hawkers, as a special genre of social art, are a partial exception to this otherwise valid argument. Cries as forms of depiction are

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[43] P.A.H. Brown*, London Publishers and Printers c. 1800–1870* (London, 1982).

[44] For a critique of this view, see M. Jenner, 'London', in J. Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), 294–307, at 296.

intensely social, with direct and potent ties to everyday life as it is lived in the streets of big cities. They take class difference, economic status, trade, labor, and money as their *métier*. By structure, they are committed to social description and public life, so they stand particularly close to history, which is, with previous art, their source and coach. In effect, Cries are one of history's documents, which is why, for example, Hugh Douglas Hamilton's *Cries of Dublin* has been called, by two art historians, 'the most lively and brilliantly-observed drawings of Dublin life in existence.'[45] We may say then that Cries are braided from two threads, one from previous art, the other from social reality, so the genre enjoys a double existence, the first in art and the second in history.

In an important sense, Cries enjoy something of the same status as certain kinds of other documents to which we accord historical value: novels, short stories, dramas and even certain archival papers like letters and wills, though written sources have long, and perhaps improperly, been favored above visual sources. Cries, however, enjoy one notable advantage over written sources; they allow us to 'see' those who sold the printed words on the streets of early-modern cities. Images are noteworthy for being concrete and rooted in everyday life, unlike statistics, which are abstract, and court records, often formulaic, dry, lifeless and bearing their own kinds of biases. In addition, visual sources probe levels of experience that are deeper than those to which literary, political, legal, and economic texts offer access.[46] Valuable not just as illustration but also as evidence about the conditions and patterns of street selling, they can unearth what, in *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (2001), Peter Burke calls 'traces' of the past that prompt us to ask new questions about old subjects.[47] In fields treating underclasses and outcasts, where written documents are scarce and prejudiced, images of vendors constitute fresh evidence; they broaden the scope of historical investigations and make new questions possible. They also help historians render what Tony Judt describes as a 'proper and sympathetic account of people' rendered in light of their own, their peers' and their 'betters' experiences and the reactions of all parties to those experiences.[48] As such they not only mirrored the lives of such people, they shaped the attitudes of others to them.

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[45] A. Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland* (London, 1994), 66–7.

[46] P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of the Images before the Era of Art* (Ithaca, 2001), 13.

[47] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 10.

[48] T. Judt, 'A clown in regal purple: social history and historians', *History Workshop*, 7 (1979), 66–94, at 68.

What, by way of illustration, can we learn from the images of London's print vendors examined in this paper? For even idealized images can offer us information about the nature, conditions, and daily rhymes of this trade. For example, Laroon was a costume painter by calling. His *Cryes* offers the best key I know to the dress of hawkers and, more widely, of the entirety of the common people and outcasts (as well as their widely differing economic circumstances, of which dress is the best index) for the late 17th century.

Little historical information is available on the division of labor by gender among sellers of printed matter, an issue addressed vividly by images of hawkers. For example, Cries suggest that selling paper in the form of ballads was followed by women more than men, and we know from court records that women were arrested for singing lewd ballads (as a stimulus to sales).[49] But surprisingly, as Laroon's *Merry new Song* and other such images (Sandby's, for example) suggest, men and women plied this trade together (their high and low voices complementing each other), with or without their children, who had roles of their own to play in this business, roles easily overlooked. As well as selling printers' goods, images of hawkers remind us that these people also provided booksellers with vital information on the popularity of their various titles, offering instant feedback on what sold and what did not, allowing their publishers to decide what they should drop and what they should reprint.[50]

Men and women also worked together in the stationary business, with men selling ink and pens (requiring them to shoulder heavy wooden barrels) and women selling wax and wafers, a much lighter burden to bear. Mercury women, as they were called, also sold other forms of print—almanacs and *The London Gazette*—which an apron folded into a huge pocket allowed females to transport with ease. Hawkers were key figures in the distribution of almanacs, along with bookshops and publishers.[51] A peek into the female almanac seller's basket (Figure 6.10) shows that she sells three different types of calendars: a rolled-up or broadside version to be pinned up to a wall or carried in the pocket; a bound, tooled leather

[49] S. Mendelson, 'Women and print', in Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 280–93, at 283. See also P. McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace* (Oxford 1998).

[50] A. McShane, 'Ballads and broadsides', in Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 339–62, at 346.

[51] L. Kassell, 'Almanacs and prognostications', in Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 431–42, at 437; B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500–1660* (London, 1979).

Buy a new Almanack
Almanachs Nouveaux
Lunarij dell Anno Nuous

Mauron delin.   P.Tempest exc:
                                                 Cum Privilegio

Figure 6.10. Marcellus Laroon, *Buy a new Almanack*. Courtesy of Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

copy priced sixpence; and unbound items for twopence or so.[52] Publishers' advertisements in papers like the *London Gazette* invited vendors to sell funeral tickets, affidavits for burials in woolen, and of course, 'London Cryes.' And vendors who sold ballads also sold broadsides, an extraordinarily broad category of printed matter including: briefs, indentures, bonds, prayers, and on and on.[53]

An unpublished sketch by Laroon in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough shows a man selling all kinds of prints, large and small, on the streets of London. Rather than giving us information about the vending of paper goods on the streets of London, this image poses a question. Hawking prints in public was common on the continent, especially in Paris, with its vital popular art market. But I know of no other image depicting print sellers from any London Cries. Is this a documentary image or an imaginary one? Is the man a foreigner (note his general air of estrangement), perhaps an apprentice to or an employee of Laroon or one of the other continental artists dominating the art market in London at this time?

Whether it was women, men, or families selling printed matter, Hamilton's *News and Pamphlet Seller* (Figure 6.11) evokes the discipline, legalities, and the terrible arduousness such vendors faced. It shows also that, unlike food vendors who contributed to civic peace by provisioning great cities, print vendors were regarded as seditious. They were regulated tightly. In all jurisdictions, they were required to display badges showing that they had conformed to police discipline. But Hamilton's *Rare News in the Evening Post* (Figure 6.12) shows that print vendors flaunted such laws, even as the image also parses the grueling nature of such physical labor: in the athletic posture of the *Evening Post* seller, the effort required to shout out his wares continually, and the exertion required to trot along with a pile of newspapers weighing him down.

Of course, vendors who sold printed matter also sold unrelated goods and services: the young woman selling memorandum books also sells bouquets (Figure 6.13).[54] Her portrait shows this enterprising woman simultaneously conducting three different trades. The most obvious of these is the flowers she vends (note the French legend: 'Gentlemen, buy some bouquets to delight your sense of smell'). The less obvious is the memorandum books she hides behind her back. But the less visible trade she plies is

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[52] B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press, 1500–1800*, 41.
[53] McShane, 'Ballads and broadsides', 341.
[54] OED: 'Memorandum.'

Figure 6.11. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *News and Pamphlet Seller*. Courtesy of private owner.

Rare News in the Evening Post.

Figure 6.12. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Rare News in the Evening Post*. Courtesy of private owner.

Figure 6.13. Paul Sandby, *Will your Honour Buy a fine Bouquet or a Memorandum Book*? Courtesy of Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

in herself, in the form of the sexual services she offers to 'your honour' advertised in her brazen, come-thither look and enticing bosom. Of all her businesses, the last was the most lucrative, for as images of print vendors (especially Sandby's, the most socially informed) make clearer than any other documents on vendors, theirs was an appallingly impoverished trade, often little more than an excuse to beg.

Finally, images of print vendors, ballad sellers and indeed of all manner of vendors reveal what contemporaries called these trades— *mysteries*—the singular techniques and tools its practitioners, especially the most professional of them, used to pursue their callings. For casual ballad sellers, cries suggest that their trade was a matter of 'stand and deliver', but for others it was a high art. The American diarist, sojourning in Bath, met the first type of ballad singer 'whose haggard looks and tattered garment denoted [a] variety of wretchedness, having a long, squalid grisly beard, his face dirty and wrinkled, his hair through which, in appearance, a comb had not passed for many years, his garments of every possible colour and shade, each piece of the bigness of one's palm, tackt together by thread of a different colour and in stretches as long as one's thumb'. The fellow, whose name was Selby, earned 'a wretched livelihood by begging and selling ballads.'[55] A shrewd version of this type appears in another Sandby ballad man who, with his partner, sells last dying speeches where they are most in demand: at the foot of the gallows.

Of an entirely different complexion is Laroon's conjugal couple in *A Merry New Song.* Prosperous by the evidence of their dress, he wears a coat with side and back buttoned vents; note too his loose falling cuffs called 'hounds ears.' She wears a laced bodice, a kerchief fringed with lace, and a chemise with frilled sleeves. But the highlight of her outfit is her elegant pair of arm-length gloves, ill-suited to street labor. Both figures engage in an eye-catching theatre by how they wear their hats: his tilts to the right, about to fall off; hers is perfectly horizontal. They tender each other ballads, and sing to communicate the tune of their rhyme. Finally they dance, with these different arts combining to offer their audience an irresistible performance of remarkable sophistication and appeal, evoking balladeering not as a homogenized calling, but as a deeply hierarchical craft that at the high end of the spectrum was artfully professionalized.

The apotheosis of the ballad seller occurs a little more than a century later in the *Cries of London or Moving Market* (1815), a competitor to

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[55] *The Journal of Samuel Curwen*, ed. Andrew Oliver, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1972), 2: 586.

The Cries of London, as They are daily Exhibited in the Streets. Instead of vending the last dying speech and confession of a felon as Laroon's figures do (the gallows appears on their broadside), this monger hawks a song to be sung by school children praising the best-behaved girl in the class, notable for minding her needle, her books, and her slate. Thus does the ballad seller so depicted join in the central enterprise of Cries after 1760: promoting literacy and good conduct in young people. In taking such a role, perhaps this children's book returns us to the first extant *Cries of Paris* from 1500 in which the hawker, as well as selling religious wares in his *belles heures*, is also vending 'beaulr a b c's to teach his customers to read, a Cries showing a vendor selling not only Cries but also what Cries would ultimately become: primers.

PEDDLING IN TEXTS AND IMAGES:
THE DUTCH VISUAL PERSPECTIVE*

Karen Bowen

Introduction

Street sellers were common throughout early-modern Europe and their presence is recorded in a variety of written and visual forms in each and every country. But how, specifically, these pedlars were received and their activities documented not only varies from place to place, but, as is discussed in the general introduction, fluctuates in response to diverse cultural streams within any one society. These differences often reflect distinct, idiosyncratic factors, ranging from how the local government and guilds engaged with these hawkers legally, to fads in local art markets where the buyers' whims and purse helped determine which images of pedlars would be produced and popularized.[1]

To date, several scholars have taken on the difficult task of trying to determine the social and economic significance of these (usually) anonymous itinerant salesmen and women in various European countries.[2] One such project was recently undertaken at the University of Utrecht. Here, the focus was on the role played by pedlars in the distribution of printed matter (texts, songs, prints, etc.) in the Netherlands and, as a point of comparison, England, in the period 1600–1850.[3] Initially, work on this project

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* I would like to thank Jeroen Salman, Alfons Thijs, and Martin Royalton-Kisch for their advice at various stages during my research.

[1] For examples of the former, see Jeroen Salman's article in this volume, and for an example of the latter, see that of Melissa Calaresu.

[2] See, for example, L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. Vicki Whittaker (Oxford, 1996); and M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapman and their Wares in the Seventeenth century* (London, 1984).

[3] Funded by a VIDI grant from the NWO (Nederlandse organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek), this project also supported Jeroen Salman's research on the general scale and specific social and economic characteristics of the Dutch itinerant trade in printed matter, as well as Roeland Harms's doctoral research on the distribution of pamphlets in the Netherlands. See R. Harms *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende*

focused on what archival and textual sources could reveal about this group
of pedlars and their place in society. As is discussed in Jeroen Salman's
article, these sources have disclosed previously unimagined relations
between pedlars and regular booksellers, as well as attempts to regulate
and suppress itinerant salesmen. Nonetheless, they often (by necessity)
remain limited to specific examples of controversial or illegal behaviour
and lack an overview of the cultural contexts in which these pedlars
worked.[4] In order to ameliorate this restricted perspective, I would like to
consider what visual sources can add to our understanding of which types
of pedlars were active in the Netherlands, the circumstances in which
these pedlars interacted with their potential clients, and how they were
received in the early-modern Dutch Republic.

Obviously, all works of art are the result of some creative, interpretative
process, often undertaken in the hope of satisfying (and profiting from!)
current demands in the art market (as Melissa Calaresu also argues in her
article). Consequently, they must be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless,
the sheer diversity of these images and the quantities in which they were
produced also readily attests to their constituting a "popular" subject mat-
ter, as defined in the general introduction. Thus, although impossible to
determine definitively, it remains important to consider the extent to
which these images were capable of moulding public opinion regarding
pedlars and the extent to which they simply reflect it. At present, however,
I will focus on probing how effectively these images can used to envision
and understand the general, every-day context in which pedlars worked.
To this end, I examined a broad sampling of Netherlandish images
of pedlars selling printed wares in order to determine which views of these
pedlars were conveyed and what this, in turn, says about the society that
produced them and those for whom they were made. I will be using the
term Netherlandish to refer to works of art produced in both the northern
and southern Netherlands (the present-day Netherlands and Belgium). As
there was a regular flow of artists, prints, and paintings between these
areas in this period, as well as no significant regional differentiation in
the representation of comparable scenes, I will consider all such works

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eeuw (Amsterdam, 2011) and J. Salman, *Pedlars and the Popular Press: Itinerant Distribution
Networks in England and the Netherlands 1600–1850* (Leiden & Boston 2013; in press).

   [4] For an overview of these results, see J. Salman, 'Between reality & representation. The
image of the pedlar in the 18th century Dutch Republic', in M. van Delft, F. de Glas &
J. Salman, eds., *New Perspectives in Book History: Contributions from the Low Countries*
(Zutphen, 2006), 189–202.

together as a single group. But, as the bulk of the images I have found were produced in the northern Netherlands, and the corresponding archival and social analysis are also drawn from northern, Dutch cities, I will be focusing on the Dutch perspective in my analysis.

However, before I can analyze what these images reveal of the cultural context in which they operated / existed, it is necessary to understand the body of images concerned. In particular, I would like to begin by briefly discussing what sorts of representations of pedlars selling printed wares were produced in the Netherlands in the period under consideration (1600–1850). This period was selected because it is characterized by an exceptional increase in the production and distribution of printed matter in the Dutch Republic. Nevertheless, significant changes in both print techniques and the organization of the book trade in the early 19th century (discussed in the general introduction and Jeroen Salman's contribution), suggest a natural turning point and, hence, the best place to conclude this phase of research. Following an overview of which types of imagery were available when, I will then turn to the equally important issue of determining how distinctly Dutch this array of representations was, for as the body of work presented in this volume attests to time and again, many of the texts and images concerned enjoyed not only an active national but also international distribution that resulted in a perpetual flow and exchange of ideas. This evaluation will be based primarily on a comparison of this pool of works with English images of comparable pedlars made in the same period. As these countries differ in their patterns of urbanization, social stratification, art markets, and the spread (or not) of production centres for printing, the portrayal of pedlars in each country is understandably more often at odds than alike. And yet, it is just these distinctions that make a comparison of these images fruitful, both in terms of what they reveal concerning what were most likely, pan-European associations with these ever-present hawkers, in addition to highlighting what was distinctly Dutch in terms of their portrayal and implied situation in society. Indeed, determining which images were more attune with local circumstances facilitates, in turn, my subsequent consideration of the degree to which these may have been fictitious representations created to satisfy the latest whim in a local or international art market, and to what degree they can still inform us as to how these pedlars functioned and were received in the early-modern Dutch Republic. For, regardless of the relative degree of accuracy embodied in these images, each is still valuable for the information it conveys—true or contrived—about these pedlars and their actual, or desired, place in Dutch society.

Overview of Images of Pedlars Selling Printed,
Paper Wares in the Netherlands

When searching for Netherlandish images of pedlars with printed wares, I consulted a variety of reference works and museum collections. Chief among these were: (1) the resources of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), located in The Hague; (2) the Nederlands Openluchtmuseum (NOM), where Jacco Hooikammer provided me with exceptional assistance; (3) the Hollstein series of Dutch & Flemish print catalogues;[5] (4) Maurits de Meyer's extensive catalogue, *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15de tot de 20e eeuw* (Antwerp, 1962), the contents of which is particularly well represented by the Waller collection of *centsprenten*, or penny prints, at the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (RPK); (5) the Emmering Collection of images of the world of prints and books, also preserved and kindly made available at the RPK; and (6) various databases pertaining to children's literature available via the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague (KBH), where I was generously advised by Jeannette Kok.

Thanks to these and other collections, I have amassed a pool of nearly 290 images of people with printed paper wares for sale—books, songs, newspapers, prints, lottery tickets, New Year's greetings, games, etc.— completed or published in the Netherlands between 1600 and 1850.[6] Executed in a variety of forms, ranging from paintings and drawings to tiles and writing paper, this group is dominated by images created in various print media: woodcuts (far above all), etchings and engravings.[7] Each of these prints in turn could have been reproduced thousands or, in the case of the woodcuts commonly used for penny prints in the 18th and 19th

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[5] F.W. Hollstein, *Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1949–64; Amsterdam, 1974–87; Roosendaal, 1988–94; Rotterdam, 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2005-); and *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700* (Roosendaal, 1993–4; Rotterdam, 1995–2004; Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, 2005-).

[6] See below for examples of most of these. For a rare image of *klapwakers* (night watchmen) distributing New Year's greetings, see the Hondius Book and Print Auctions, catalogue no. 8 (March 2009), no. 665.

[7] For a summary of my initial findings concerning printed images of such pedlars, see K. L. Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's views of pedlars with texts: a consideration of images of pedlars in the Low Countries (1600–1850)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 15 (2008), 93–108. For examples of writing paper, see L. Buijnsters-Smets *Decoratieve prenten met geschreven wensen 1670–1870* (Nijmegen, 2007), Figure 103. For examples of tiles with such images of pedlars, see, e.g., J. Pluis, *Kinderspelen op tegels* (Assen, 1979), 206.

centuries, tens of thousands of times.[8] Because of this enormous potential output, the ease with which they could be distributed, and (at least in comparison with other art forms and literary publications) their relatively affordable price, these printed images most likely played the biggest role in informing and representing the Dutch visualization of these pedlars. Moreover, the frequent presence of some accompanying text—either engraved into the plate bearing the subject or printed with letterpress adjacent to it—makes these images particularly useful for determining how specific representations were to be interpreted. Although, as I will argue below, depictions of these pedlars in other media are also signifi-cant for what they reveal of the distinct markets for these images and the divergent views of pedlars that were propagated. For example, numerous 17th- and 18th-century paintings depicting town squares, country land-scapes, and local market scenes with an anonymous street singer with songs for sale attests to a positive interest in this subject matter by (most likely) a burgeoning group of middle-class buyers (cf. Figure 7.1).[9] Meanwhile, highly finished drawings and trendy decorated writing paper from the later 18th and early 19th centuries that feature market scenes and singers indicate the appeal of these subjects within more specialized, elite markets (cf. Figure 7.2).[10] But before such matters can be considered prop-erly, one needs to know specifically which subjects and media typify the production of these images in the Netherlands.

What is Distinctive about this Production?

Essential here is a comparison between contemporaneous Netherlandish and English representations of pedlars selling printed paper wares.[11] Given

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[8] For examples of the exceptionally large traffic in penny prints in the 19th century, see P. Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten van Brepols* (Turnhout, 1996), 69–73, and Appendix 1 (192–3).

[9] Cf. M.J. Bok, 'The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural centre: the market for paintings, 1580–1680', in P. O'Brien, D. Keene, M. 't Hart, & H. van der Wee, eds., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge, 2001), 186–209.

[10] For more on the production of special writing paper, see Buijnsters-Smets, *Decoratieve prenten met geschreven wensen.*

[11] My pool of English images was compiled largely via two large electronic databanks, the British Museum (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection _database.aspx>) and 'Collage', from the Guildhall Library and Museum <http://collage .cityoflondon.gov.uk/collage> [18 Feb. 2013]. My collection of English and Netherlandish images is now preserved at the RKD. See Karen Bowen, 'Databanks for the assimilation of

Figure 7.1. I. T. van der Vooren, *Rollenzanger Lange Jan bij het standbeeld van Erasmus, te Rotterdam* (ca. 1790), oil on panel, 24 × 27 cm. Rotterdam, Historisch Museum: 11031.

the striking differences between these two countries, when certain elements do overlap, one can reasonably postulate that these reflect common European associations with such pedlars. For example, in both countries, Jewish pedlars—usually distinguished by their beard and

Netherlandish and English representations of pedlars', *RKD Bulletin*, 2013/1 (forthcoming), for a summary of the compilation and analysis of these two groups of images.

Figure 7.2. Jacob Perkois, *Traveling printseller* (1784), chalk, pen and brush 27.5 × 19.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Emmering collection: RP-T-2008-28.

(if there is an accompanying text) an odd accent—are most often depicted as old clothes salesmen, or else as general, travelling pedlars with a variety of goods (haberdashery) for sale.[12] However, Jewish lottery ticket sales-men—figures who were known in both countries and periodically repre-sented as disreputable salesmen in the Netherlands—are not usually portrayed in England.[13] This suggests that this subject was more pertinent to a Dutch market or society than English. Similarly, while depictions of street singers dominate both Netherlandish and English imagery—indi-cating a striking presence of this type of street seller in both countries, if not Europe as a whole—the specific sort of street singer depicted (as will be discussed in greater detail below) differs significantly.

Most often, however, the Netherlandish portrayals of pedlars diverge significantly from their English counterparts. One important distinction is the context in which the pedlars are depicted. Among the Netherlandish images, the two most common contexts are, on the one hand, representa-tions of trades or occupations and, on the other, depictions of the local (country) fairs and (city / town) market places.

While the former group might be related thematically to the popular English tradition of depicting the Cries of London (discussed in Sean Shesgreen's article), the Netherlandish presentation of this theme differs in several essential aspects. The most obvious and fundamental of these is the medium and form chosen for the image. For, while printed images (versus paintings, for example) were usually favoured in both countries for the portrayal of this series of subjects, in the Netherlands, broadsides bearing (most often) a series of simple, crudely made woodcuts with brief accompanying letterpress texts predominate (as in Figure 7.3). In England, by contrast, series of street cries were usually produced as an extensive suite of etchings, or else as detailed wood engravings, often for the illustra-tion of a book.[14] The Netherlandish broadsides—occasionally distributed by the very types of pedlars who were portrayed in the prints—were, in

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[12] See A. Rubens, *A Jewish Iconography* (London, 1981–2), for numerous examples of representations of Jewish pedlars.

[13] For an example of such image in a Dutch context see G. van Sandwijk's *Prenten-Magazijn voor de jeugd*, no. 5 (Purmerend, 1846) (KBH: BJ 48708 (1846)).

[14] For an overview of suites of street cries produced in various countries, see K.F. Beall, *Kaufrufe und Strassenhändler. Cries and Itinerant Trades Eine Bibliographie. A Bibliography*, trans. Sabine Solf (Hamburg, 1975). For English street cries—both those produced as inde-pendent prints and as book illustrations—see Sean Shesgreen's article in this volume, as well as his unpublished *New Hand list of London Cries* (copy deposited at Guildhall Library, London), which he generously shared with me.

Figure 7.3. Anonymous [Trades] (J. Noman, broadside no. 3, 1814), woodcuts. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: RP-P-OB-102.371 [Waller folder O 1] [with female almanac seller with basket].

relative terms, much cheaper to produce (and buy) and could be readily reproduced in large quantities to satisfy a much greater, broader market that included the poorer classes.[15] Indeed, these penny prints probably constituted the most widely disseminated type of visual source in the

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[15] See n. 8 above for examples of the huge distribution of penny prints. For examples of the wide distribution of these prints among the lower classes, including their sale by

Netherlands. The form of their English counterparts, by contrast, would have precluded their purchase and absorption by anyone beyond the wealthier classes.[16]

Another important characteristic of Netherlandish penny prints with images of these pedlars is how they were titled and presented to their potential viewers. Among the English series (and other European images, such as the Italian ones discussed by Melissa Calaresu), these figures are typically portrayed either as a decorative series of costume studies, or a selection of city street cries, whereby the vocal aspect of these vendors is underscored. By contrast, in Netherlandish penny prints street sellers are usually incorporated in examples of occupations or in sheets in which the viewer is simply advised to enjoy looking at the scenes presented (cf. Figures 7.3 and 7.4). Together, these factors reflect different attitudes toward both the potential market for these images and the tone that they conveyed. Directed more toward those who may have interacted with pedlars on a daily basis, or even known some personally, the Netherlandish penny prints comprise simple images and practical messages concerning the work performed. They consequently differ significantly from the English virtuoso or satirical descriptions of a range of characters and costumes for the diversion of upper-class consumers, or the Italian images Calaresu argues were intended for travellers on the Grand Tour.

The other distinctive contexts in which Netherlandish artists portrayed pedlars selling paper wares are markets and fairs. Markets and fairs were logical destinations for pedlars, as they attracted many potential customers with money to spend. And yet, despite various written sources indicating that English pedlars also attended fairs and markets, English artists did not tend to depict sellers of printed paper wares at these events, but preferred to focus on the crowds present and the entertainment offered there.[17] Netherlandish artists, however, regularly included representations of general pedlars with various goods for sale or street singers in their renditions of the amusements at a country fair or a local market place.

Of these two types of pedlars, street singers were portrayed by far the most frequently. Notably, while representations of singers also dominate

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pedlars, see, e.g., C.F. van Veen, *Centsprenten*, trans. P. Wardle (Amsterdam, 1976), 14–15; and de Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent*, 9.

[16] Cf. S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850* (London, 1999), 14.

[17] For references to British pedlars traveling to fairs and markets, see, e.g., M. Harris, G. Mandelbrote & R. Myers, eds., *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (New Castle, Delaware, 2007). For a more common English view of a fair, see, e.g., William Hogarth's *Southwark Fair* (1734) (The British Museum, London: inv. no. 1868, 0822.1515).

Mes amis venez voir pierrot,
Il vous fera des tours nouveaux.

Sa vrienden luistert naer dees lied,
Wat dat op aerde is geschied.
   Je vends ici à tout passant,
   Chansons nouvelles pour peu d'argent.

Figure 7.4. Anonymous, *Singers at a Kermis*, in: *Zie op deze Print, o Jeugd, // Een kleine schets van Kermis vreugd ...* (Amsterdam: J.A. Aldag, broadside no. 68, *c.* 1850), woodcuts, 5.4 × 6.1 cm. Amsterdam, Waller coll., folder 2.

English images of pedlars (but then in city street scenes), the way in which the Netherlandish singers were rendered differs significantly from their English ballad-selling counterparts. Specifically, Netherlandish singers (whether included in a market/fair context or not) are frequently shown

standing on something with a painted cloth hanging behind them that bears images to which the singer may point while performing his or her piece in the hope, presumably, of attracting as large an audience of potential customers as possible.[18] While artists elsewhere in continental Europe also depicted such performers, they are strikingly absent from English art.[19] Regardless of how exclusive such imagery was to the Netherlands, the fact that street singers—whether shown at a market or fair or just on some city street—were routinely portrayed in various media throughout the period under consideration (cf., e.g., Figures 7.5, 7.6, and 7.1), attests to the degree to which they had permeated numerous layers of Dutch society and thereby constituted a popular subject that engaged members of diverse social classes. However, as I will discuss below, despite this evidently widely shared experience of these particular pedlars, the response to them was not uniform.

Although images of singers dominate both English and Netherlandish portrayals of pedlars selling printed paper wares, many other street sellers were also depicted. While several types were common to both groups—newsboys and almanac sellers, for example—others help distinguish the Netherlandish production. The best examples of this are print and map salesmen and sellers of *koningskronen* [king's crowns] and *koningsbrieven* [king's letters] (for a popular game played at Epiphany), even though portrayals of both of these types are far less common than representations of other types of pedlars selling printed paper wares.

Images of print and map salesmen are of interest due to the variety of media in which images of them were made and the diverse means they record for selling prints and maps. For while representations of print and map sellers appear most often in penny prints, some were used to decorate tiles, or were included in a book or magazine for young readers, while other artists executed fine drawings of these street salesmen (Figure 7.2). Clearly, the market for representations of this type of pedlar was diverse, suggesting a broad-based appeal despite the relatively few examples that

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[18] In Dutch, the painted cloth is commonly referred to as a *roldoek*, while the song that accompanies it is called a *rollied* or, if particularly melodramatic, a *smartlap*.

[19] For remarks emphasizing the place of Netherlandish street singers (and, in particular, market singers and those using such painted cloths) within a western, continental European tradition, see, e.g., F. Martin, 'De liedjeszanger als massamedium: Straatzangers in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 97 (1984), 424–5 and 444–5 in particular. The continued scholarly interest in various aspects of this popular, cultural phenomenon in the Netherlands is attested to by such recent studies as those published in *Literatuur*, 3 (2004) on the content, performance, and goal of such songs.

Figure 7.5. Anonymous, *Aanschouwt hoe ieder hier zijn Waren weet te prijzen, Maar laat het niet bij u, hierdoor in Waarde rijzen* (J. Noman, broadside no. 3, 1814–1830) woodcuts. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet: RP-P-OB-102.370 [Waller folder O 1] [with female song seller with basket].

are now known. In addition, these images record a variety of means for displaying and selling prints, ranging from truly ambulant salesmen walking with prints in their hands or gathered between two sticks, to stationary ones with a temporary display of prints hanging on string. This indicates

LIEDJESZANGER.
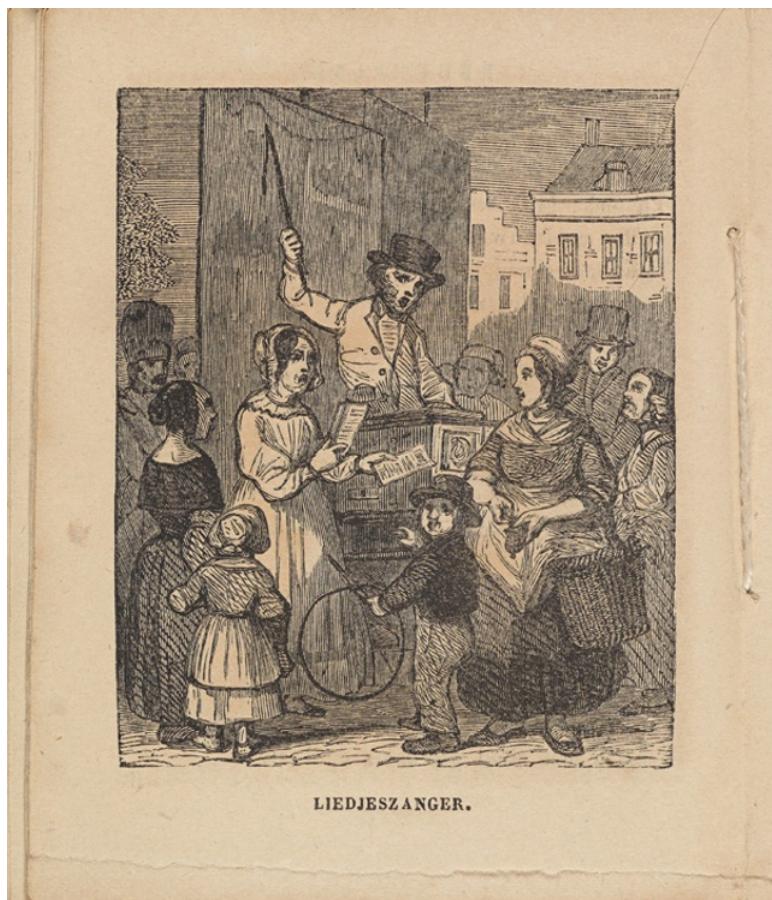
Figure 7.6. Anonymous, *Street singers,* in: *Enkhuizer Almanak tot nut van 't Algemeen* (Amsterdam, 1847), wood-engraving, 7.2 × 5.9 cm. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 28 G 1 (1847), fol. 76ᵛ.

some real observation of such figures and not simply the repetition of a standardized type.[20] Yet another defining aspect of the Netherlandish imagery is revealed by depictions of local *koningsbrief* and *koningskroon* salesmen, namely, how independent circumstances in Netherlandish society can determine what types of pedlars were portrayed.

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[20] For examples of this range of printsellers see J. Thijssen, *'Leerzame prentjes voor de jeugd'. Schoolprenten van de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Utrecht, 2009), 24 and 42, and Figure 3.

Koningsbrieven and *koningskronen* were parts of a popular game played in the Netherlands to celebrate the coming of the three kings at Epiphany. Better known from paintings of *The King Drinks* by Jacob Jordaens and Jan Steen, the crown worn by the king and the paper playing pieces determining who would play which member of the king's court, could be purchased from itinerant salesmen (Figure 7.7).[21]

While the tradition of celebrating Epiphany with a Three King's party (and, consequently, the printing of these ephemeral crowns and game pieces) continued well into the 19th century in the Netherlands, the depiction of those who sold these party favours did not. For, they were tied to a distinct artistic trend, namely, the portrayal of the months or seasons of the year, which faded in popularity in the early 17th century, some 200

Figure 7.7. A. Pauwels after A. van Diepenbeeck, *Koningskroonverkoper,* in: Antoine de Bourgogne, *Mundi lapis lydius* (Antwerpen: Jan Cnobbaert, 1639), etching, 8 × 12 cm. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience: C 111607 [C2-554 c], p. 108.

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[21] For a recent study of this event, see D. Fugger, *Das Königreich am Dreikönigstag: eine historisch-empirische Ritualstudie* (Paderhorn, 2007). See Figure 14 of this book for the portrayal of someone wearing a paper crown and Figure 19 for a man on the left with a paper playing piece. My thanks to Dr. Fugger for sharing some of the images he had found of these salesmen with me prior to the publication of his work. See J. van der Waals's exhibition catalogue *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam, 2006), 46–7, for examples of these crowns and game pieces. See the Waller collection at the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, folders 2, L, and M1, for later examples.

years earlier.[22] Rather, it was representations of these celebrations, both in painted and penny print form, that lasted into the 19th century.[23] Consequently, not only do these images reveal how local traditions will result in the depiction of specific types of hawkers of printed texts that are not necessarily common elsewhere, but they also demonstrate how even the portrayal of aspects of a popular local celebration can be determined by trends and shifts in the general art market, independent of what is actually transpiring on the streets. For the Netherlands, this is, perhaps, the single best reminder that however realistic Netherlandish art from the 17th and 18th centuries may appear—as suggested, for example, by the representations of print and map salesmen—it cannot simply be taken at face value, as an unbiased reflection of what went on in Dutch society at a given moment in time.

Throughout this discussion, I have periodically referred to the market for which certain imagery was most likely intended. Two important points in this regard should be highlighted. First, there does not appear to have been a single, uniform market in the Netherlands for images of pedlars selling printed paper wares. Second, no one person seems to have specialized in the production of this particular subject matter. Rather, various artists and publishers throughout the Netherlands occasionally included such a pedlar in an image that they were producing for another reason or distinct niche in the art market. Consequently, the contexts in which these pedlars were portrayed vary significantly. They include: landscape paintings and city views, genre scenes of peasant life, sketches of a striking character or scene, instructive illustrations in moralizing books for children, and series of images of simple occupations or common forms of entertainment grouped together in an inexpensive penny print for the amusement and diversion of a larger, broader audience. Thus, it should not be surprising that some specific pedlars, such as news salesmen, are more often found in certain media (in this case, popular penny prints) or that others, like the *koningskroon* salesmen, would unexpectedly turn up in images of the winter months, while others, like the seemingly ever-present street singers, appear in such a variety of forms that one cannot doubt their inescapable presence in European society as a whole in the period under consideration.

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[22] See Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's views', 108, for more on this phenomenon.
[23] For more on the production of penny prints pertaining to this event, see de Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent in de Nederlanden*, 567–74, and his Figures 170 and 171.

But, this very lack of specialization along with the fact that these images were made in such diverse media for various markets does indicate the degree to which these street salesmen had permeated Netherlandish society as a whole. For, not only are they found among products for those with extra money to spend—from series of paintings of the seasons, to decorative tiles and writing paper for special occasions—but these pedlars also appeared in the expansive 17th-century paintings market, which included works that even average middle-class buyers could afford. And, of particular import here (and in notable contrast with England) is the frequency with which some sort of image of a pedlar with a text for sale could have reached the poorer classes—including those who might have worked as pedlars themselves—via inexpensive penny prints. This underscores, on the one hand, what a common, perhaps even inescapable, presence these hawkers must have represented in individuals' daily lives, regardless of their station, and on the other hand, that representations of them were popular in the sense that they engaged a disparate public in one way or another. But, before examining what this variety of images might have conveyed to this range of buyers, I would first like to consider to what degree these depictions actually provide a representative picture of the activities of these pedlars and their place in Dutch society.

What Can we Learn about Dutch Pedlars from Visual Sources?

These visual sources are, in the first place, a record of the type of imagery artists (or publishers) were asked to produce or thought would sell at certain times in the period under consideration (1600–1850). Moreover, as the discussion of representations of *koningskroon* sellers has already proven, not all peddling activities that took place in the Netherlands were recorded visually due to preferences (or not) for certain subjects expressed via the art market. Similarly, not all types of sellers known through various archival records are likewise portrayed visually. Consider, for example, female news sellers. While their activities are periodically documented via criminal records, depictions of them are rare (in contrast with numerous images of men and boys distributing the news).[24]

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[24] For one such image, see *Kan de Kostwinning van deez' Snaken* [...], Rotterdam, Jacobus Thompson, broadside no. 2 (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, inv. no. PR 17283). For examples of female news sellers in textual sources, see J. Salman, '"Vreemde loopers en kramers." De ambulante boekhandel in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 8 (2001), 73–98; and M. Everard, 'In en om de (*Nieuwe*) *Bataafsche Vrouwe*

Nevertheless, while these works (like all art forms) are evidently selective in terms of which figures are represented, one can still ask whether the pedlars who are portrayed are depicted with a plausible degree of accuracy. For example, the recurrence of specific, seemingly insignificant details, such as how these pedlars transported and displayed their goods, suggests a relatively reliable description of these elementary aspects. If so, these details can be used to deduce more about how and where these pedlars worked. Such an analysis is especially fruitful when these works are compared with similar ones made in England. Specifically, among the English images, a clear distinction is made between those pedlars who travel into the countryside, offering a mix of goods for sale that are displayed in an open wooden box, usually supported by a strap around the pedlar's neck, versus the more localized, specialized salesmen and women who worked the city streets, often with just a simple basket on their arm or a pocket hung around their waist, to help convey their goods and the money they earned. This distinction between 'hawkers' baskets' and 'pedlars' boxes' is even recorded in an 1844 report on the lodging houses where such vendors stayed in the town of Ashton-Under-Lyne in England.[25]

Netherlandish depictions of pedlars selling books, prints, and songs display an even greater variety of devices to carry and display their goods than their English counterparts. However, one essential distinction remains, namely, the exceptional prevalence of sturdy wooden boxes among those pedlars carrying a mix of items (including printed paper wares) (Figure 7.8). If one then applies the distinction so clearly made in English imagery between those pedlars with such boxes and those without and their associated territory, then one might cautiously conclude that the Dutch pedlars bearing wooden boxes filled with haberdashery were most likely those who travelled greater distances between towns on a regular basis. While this may seem a minor point, the implications are potentially substantial if they help reveal the likely territorial reach of the pedlars in the sample, based upon the sort of box or basket they carry. For, the relative proximity of Dutch towns and the ready interaction with those living in the surrounding countryside, often impedes an initial

Courant. Het aandeel van vrouwen in een revolutionaire politieke cultuur', _Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman_, 24 (2001), 67–86.

[25] J. R. Coulthart, _State of Large Towns and Populous Districts. A report of the sanatory condition of the town of Ashton-Under-Lyne; with remarks on the existing evils, and suggestions for improving the health, comfort, and longevity of the inhabitants_ (Ashton-Under-Lyne, 1844) (University College London; and JSTOR), 36–7.
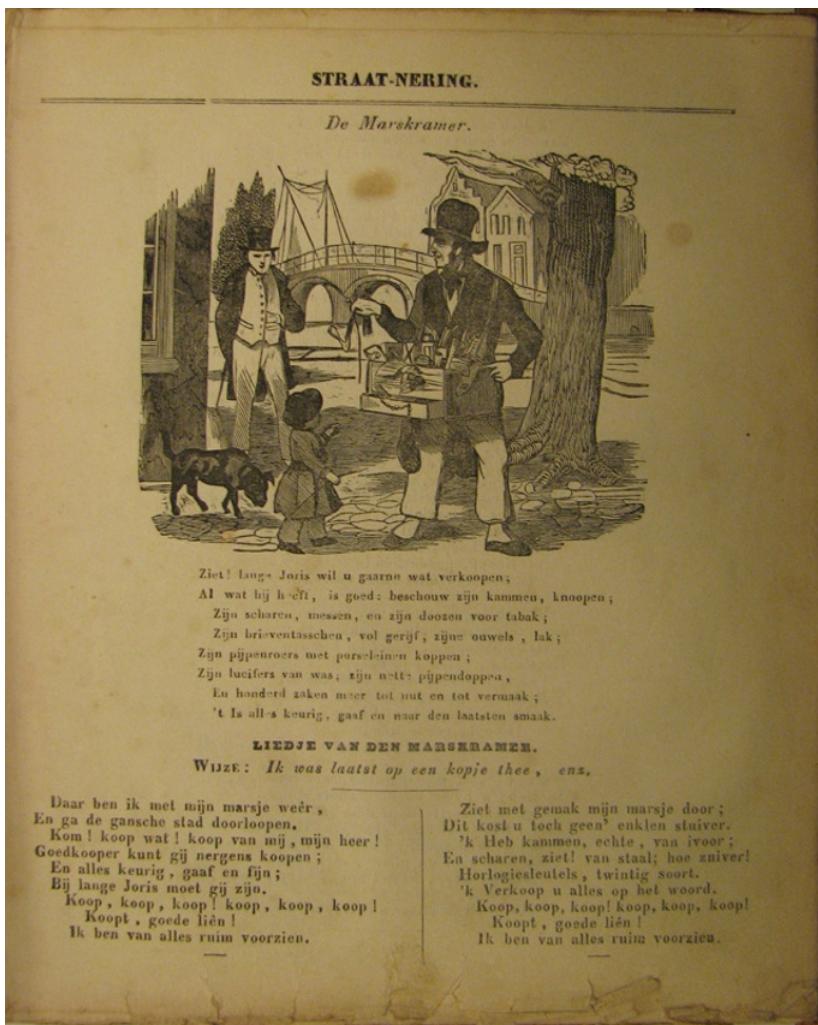
Figure 7.8. Anonymous, 'De Marskramer' [the peddler], in: G. van Sandwijk, *Prenten-Magazijn voor de jeugd*, nr. 5 (Purmerend: J. Schuitemaker, 1846), wood-engraving, 7.5 × 10.8 cm. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: BJ 48708 (1846).

determination of whether the figure represented is just out for a day's excursion or on part of a longer journey.

In England, the greater distances between large towns or cities meant that most excursions between cities were, by definition, of longer duration and, hence, the domain of an itinerant pedlar and not a local hawker. But, if one accepts this general association of wooden boxes with

longer distances to be travelled, some simple observations drawn from Netherlandish images may gain in significance. For example, those pedlars who are shown specializing in the sale of books (occasionally specified as almanacs) or *koningskronen* and *koningsbrieven* often carry them in rectangular baskets (comparable in design to the wooden boxes favoured by the haberdashery salesmen, but lighter and presumably less durable) (cf. Figures 7.8 and 7.7). The logical conclusion is that these pedlars did not travel as far from their home base or supply of goods as the general pedlars and that they, rather, concentrated on sales in the area near their suppliers and perhaps the neighbouring countryside. If this is true, then these images would help answer one essential question, namely, to what degree were pedlars of specific types of text locally bound and to what degree did they travel extensively from town to town, or city to city.

The imagery from the Netherlands similarly teaches us that pedlars specializing in other types of printed matter also had their own characteristic means of displaying and selling it. For example, as already observed, street singers are often shown standing on something, with or without the added attraction of a painted cloth behind them, or else are just carrying their songs in a basket (cf. Figures 7.5, 7.6, and 7.1). Newspaper salesmen and lottery ticket salesmen are usually shown just carrying their wares in their arms or in a bag and presumably kept their money in their pockets, while *koningskroon* and *koningsbrief* sellers usually bear their wares on sticks and in an open square basket (Figure 7.7), comparable to what almanac and other book sellers are shown using. This last observation may illuminate yet another aspect of these pedlars' activities, namely, that they were specialized in the sale of seasonal products, including almanacs, *koningskronen* and *koningsbrieven*, that may have been printed by one and the same person. This, in turn, might reflect the potential activity of networks of pedlars and booksellers discussed by Jeroen Salman in his article. Finally, as noted above, only images of print sellers show a remarkable degree of variety in how prints were carried or displayed. Perhaps this clear lack of standardization actually reflects different types of sellers and whether they were local, city-based vendors (who simply carried prints in their hands or set-up temporary displays), or ones who travelled greater distances to sell their goods and consequently held them more securely between two sticks that were easily carried with a strap over their shoulder (cf. Figure 7.2).

Consequently, at least some Netherlandish images provide information that is not readily recorded in written sources, namely, concerning the practical logistics of how these various itinerant salesmen and women worked and the territory they might have covered on a daily basis.

One can also expand these arguments and consider whether certain images record the ordinary interaction of an average citizen in the Netherlands with such pedlars. This case is made best with those images that represent a specific, identifiable place, such as the Grote Markt of Rotterdam with (among other figures) a street singer (Figure 7.1) or the Botermarkt (now the Rembrandtplein) of Amsterdam, with several stands with booksellers.[26] Presumably, with their obvious claim to representing a known, local place, these images would not have sold if they did not actually represent something the viewer might have seen in that place. While in some rare instances it is argued that a specific, known street performer / singer was portrayed (as in Figure 7.1), generally, the diminutive scale of the figures makes such an identification impossible. This suggests that the purpose behind their portrayal was primarily the depiction of a common occurrence in a recognizable place. As there is no sense of comedy in these pictures, it seems that the association of these salesmen with the place depicted must have been pleasurable (or at least of neutral effect) to the potential buyers. Otherwise, it is hard to believe that these paintings, as well as comparable prints and drawings, would have sold and, hence, been worth making in the quantities that they were. Now they may serve to remind scholars today of how this group of pedlars may have worked and been accepted.

The primary (and substantial) source of Netherlandish images of pedlars that cannot be relied upon to provide specific information on certain types of pedlars are the numerous and cheap penny prints. Both the prevailing use of simply drawn and crudely executed woodcuts and the desire to fit numerous figures on one sheet implies that the resulting images are usually too small and poorly detailed to describe one particular figure precisely. Even when a name is included, the choice of name is more often determined by general, long-standing associations with the figure represented and not an attempt to portray a specific person. The most obvious example of this is the use of the name Levi for a Jewish pedlar. As the great variety of depictions of pedlars all named Levi make clear, the only identifying trait of Levi was a beard to go along with the Jewishness conveyed by his name. Even in the case of an image headed by the seemingly precise identification of 'Leepe Levi van [of] Leipzig' (Figure 7.9), a closer examination of the other prints in this series reveal that each has a name that was evidently contrived to rhyme (in alliteration) with the given place

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Figure 7.9. Anonymous, *Leepe Levi van Leipzig, in: Zinspeelingen op allerlei weten-schappen, konsten en ambachten ...* (Amsterdam: Erfg. de Wed. C. Stichter, 1778), woodcut, 6.1 × 6 cm. Amsterdam: Univ. Bib Adam: Mini 597.

name. Furthermore, in Yiddish, the word 'Leep' implies someone who is quick in business and should be watched carefully, while 'Levi', in addition to being an old Jewish name, is associated with being cunning, both of which fit in with a common message to be cautious when dealing with a pedlar.[27]

Moreover, the repeated re-use and copying of the woodcuts used to illustrate penny prints for the portrayal of different types of pedlars underscores their primary function of representing a generic street seller and not necessarily a specific figure. When these images were thus employed, what really mattered was the accompanying text, which reflected how the publisher of the print expected viewers to identify and respond to the image. Perhaps the best example of this is a simple illustration of a woman walking with a basket hanging from one arm. It is impossible to see what she carries in her basket, so the viewer is forced to rely on both his/her own assumptions and the information conveyed by the accompanying text and title of the print. In an untitled broadside from 1814 with various street sellers, Johan Noman (like the previous owner of this woodblock, W.G. van Sande) had her identified briefly and simply as an almanac seller. But, in another contemporary print similarly published by Noman, the same female figure is presented as an untrustworthy individual who sells songs cross-country (cf. Figures 7.3 and 7.5).[28] This example underscores the problem remaining, namely, while some Netherlandish images may well convey accurate, significant details concerning how and where these pedlars worked, the way in which they were regarded is yet another matter with, as I will demonstrate below, a remarkable degree of variation.

The Place of Pedlars Selling Printed Paper Wares in Dutch Society

The appearance of pedlars selling printed paper wares in a wide range of media—paintings, prints, books, and special decorative art forms—produced

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[27] My thanks to Ton Bruins of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Universiteit Amsterdam, for his information concerning the old interpretation of these Jewish names. For other portrayals of a pedlar Levi, see, e.g., Figure 10, and examples of broadside no. 74, 'De Tooverlantaarn' published by P.C.L. van Staden & Co. (among others) (cf. examples in RPK, Amsterdam, the Waller collection, folder W).

[28] For other examples of a given figure being associated with different types of pedlars, compare, e.g., the following prints from the Waller collection at RPK, Amsterdam: a man with a basket, shown holding out a sheet of paper, who is identified as an almanac seller in J. Kannewet's broadside no. 53 (Waller folder L) and as a song seller in J. de Lange's broad

throughout the Netherlands by various artists and publishers, attests to an extensive and diverse distribution of subjects among a broad sweep of the Dutch population throughout the period considered. Particularly significant here is the exceptional potential reach many of these visual sources had among the middle and lower classes of society thanks to the burgeoning 17th-century Dutch market for paintings and the subsequent mass production and consumption of penny prints. Consequently, Netherlandish images (to a far greater extent than English) can be identified as a popular, i.e. wide-ranging, source of exchange for the simple rendition, absorption, and potentially contrived conveyance of ideas and images—both positive and negative—concerning these omnipresent street vendors. Hence, it is not surprising that the portrayal of individual types of pedlars varied from context to context, as did the message associated with them. Thus, while it is tempting for some to draw their impressions of street sellers primarily from written sources or a limited selection of images and arrive at a stream-lined (typically negative) view of them, this is not actually supported by the mass of visual records left of these figures. If anything, a majority of these images are neutral, or at least ambivalent in tone. For ultimately, these visual sources reflect both the diversity of their production and their various potential audiences and provide no single view of these pedlars, even among products destined for the same social class.

Consider, for example, the abundant portrayals of street singers, by far the single largest sub-category of representations of pedlars with printed paper wares. Among these numerous images, there are indeed various works that contain stereotypical warnings against the content of the street singers' songs or watching their performance. Such warnings are found among inexpensive penny prints, as well as moralizing illustrated children's books, where both a more costly print technique and extra amounts of better quality paper would have made the latter affordable only to wealthier individuals. In the former, the very title of the print immediately warns the viewer not to believe everything a pedlar has to say about the goods he or she has for sale (including a song seller in the lower right; Figure 7.5). In the latter, one has to read through the accompanying verse

side no. 78 (Waller folder M2); or a boy shown holding out a sheet of paper, who is identified as a news seller in Wed. J. Ratelband and J. Bouwer's broadside no. 20 (Waller folder S1), and a print seller in J. Noman's broadside no. 270 (Waller folder O3).

in order to learn that those 'who want to be virtuous' ('Wie deugdzaam zijn wil') should not stay and watch (Figure 7.6).[29]

However, in addition to these conventional warnings, there are also many images in which a street singer's performance is clearly portrayed as an accepted, if not pleasurable part of an outing or form of entertainment. Among penny prints, the best examples of this attitude are found in the numerous prints of the fun to be had at the local fair ('kermis vreugd'), including seeing the singers there (Figure 7.4). It is understandable that such a standpoint would be found in penny prints. For, their primary market was the poorer classes for whom attending such fairs would have represented one of their few opportunities to enjoy a holiday, including the (free) entertainment provided by these singers.[30] More surprising, perhaps, are the large number of paintings and finished drawings produced of recognizable town squares in which a street singer / song seller is neutrally portrayed, without any sense of irony or ridicule (Figure 7.1). As argued above, given that the primary goal of these works is to reproduce a recognizable place, the association of a street singer with that place must have been equally believable and, given the general tone of the image, an accepted, if not pleasurable part of remembering that locale. The fact that so many of these paintings were produced suggests that there was a real market for them and, consequently, that many of those who could afford such works shared these potentially positive associations with their local street singers.

Indeed, there are even images that support positive social reforms involving pedlars, once again, in diverse forms for diverse markets. Among penny prints, this manifested itself in various ways. Some publishers produced images of trades, whereby those who read the titles and the accompanying texts (and not just look at the generic woodcuts) are encouraged to sympathize with what various pedlars go through and do in order to earn their living honestly. Others published broadsides bearing titles in which (poor) people are encouraged to work as pedlars and thereby earn their money honestly (however minimal the profit) instead of going

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[29] For another similar example, see, e.g., *Leerzame Kermis-wandelingen voor Knapen en Meisjes* (Deventer, n.d.), opposite p. 13 (RPK, Amsterdam, Emmering collection of books).

[30] For the importance of fairs for the recreation of the poorer classes, see G. Convents, 'Van spel tot amusementsprodukt: Een poging tot het situeren van de kermis-foor in een industrialiserende maatschappij (tot 1940)', *Kermis. Het spiegelpaleis van het volk* (Ghent, 1986), 48–71.

begging.[31] The publisher Broese & Comp. (active in Breda *c.* 1825–1851) was more practical in his advice, as the title to one of his broadsides (no. 5) reads: 'Deez prent leert u, o lieve Jeugd! hoe gij uw kost kunt winnen, als men niet lui is, en heeft geld, negotie te beginnen.' (This print teaches you, Oh dear youth, how you can earn your living, if you are not lazy and have money with which to start a trade.)[32] For, that was the catch in all of this, if one was not prepared to work hard and one did not have some capital with which to acquire the goods one wanted to sell, then making one's way as a pedlar was more difficult. In this regard, it is striking that street singers are generally *not* included in the prints that encourage people to work as best they can. Whether or not this was a conscious decision by these various publishers is impossible to say, but it is tempting to wonder if other associations with street singers, namely, as the worst of all itinerant salesmen, lazy and poor, may have influenced some.[33]

The desire to encourage the poor to earn their keep honestly, even as a hard-working itinerant salesman, may have had its counterpart in other markets. For example, among journals and other instructive books for children that were popular in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, there are occasional examples of pedlars—including Jewish pedlars—with a variety of goods for sale who are portrayed as someone to be treated politely and helped and not plagued or tricked (Figure 7.10).[34]

As I have argued elsewhere, all of these examples—from the mass-produced penny prints to the more costly, instructive books supporting a more positive attitude towards people who worked as itinerant tradesmen—may reflect a growing opinion in some sectors of 18th- and 19th-century Dutch society that it was better to encourage people to assume some kind of work than to let them be a public nuisance as beggars or as distributors of illegal items.[35] Yet once again, however striking the evidence of this perspective is, it remains just one view. In his article, Jeroen Salman offers other theories based upon his examination of archival and literary sources to explain the more lenient perspectives on pedlars.

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[31] See Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's views', 104 and Fig. 4, for a discussion of this and related images.

[32] See RPK, Amsterdam, Waller collection folder 2, for examples of this broadside.

[33] See J. Salman, 'Watching the Pedlar's Movements', 137–58, and the *c.* 1797 book illustration of lazy street singers on p. 188 of Salman, 'Between reality and representation.'

[34] For another such example, see the story 'Och! Het is voor de eerste keer' and the image of children stealing from a pedlar's fallen goods, inserted between pp. 14–15, in: *Almanack voor de Jeugd* (Amsterdam, 1832) (Den Haag, KB: BJ 25177).

[35] See Bowen, 'Sounding out a public's views', 105–6.

Figure 7.10. Anonymous, 'Hulpvaardigheid' [Helpfulness], in *Prenten-Magazijn voor de jeugd*, no. 1 (Purmerend: J. Schuitemaker, 1842), wood engraving, 7.1 × 9.5 cm. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: BJ 48706 (1842).

Conclusion

When the various interpretations outlined above are considered together, it is clear that there was no single view concerning these street salesmen and women: not according to the medium of the objects concerned nor

according to the class of buyers for whom these images were intended. Rather, they demonstrate how these pedlars were part of most Dutch citizens' lives, for better or worse. Consequently, they reflect a diverse assortment of interests, from reminders of the simple pleasures of a public holiday, to warnings to be watchful for improper influences, to the desire to indulge in the decoration of one's home with paintings of one's surroundings, to broader, civic actions encouraging a better, respectful interaction among all levels of society, including those who took on the wearing, poorly paid job of an itinerant salesman.

What then, can one learn about Dutch pedlars selling paper wares from these visual sources? One essential point is that contrary to what conventional overviews of Netherlandish art would have one believe, one cannot claim that these images of pedlars provide simple, unfiltered views of the activities of all pedlars working the streets and countryside of the Netherlands. That said, these artistic re-creations of selected situations within this world, nevertheless appear to reveal some of the actual circumstances around how and where they worked, in addition to attesting to various responses to this group of itinerant salesmen and women. These range from a simple acceptance of these pedlars as common elements of their countryside and town squares, to a wariness of and irritation with their vulgar or deceptive behaviour, to a practical recognition that it was better to encourage this class of people to work instead of having them turn to begging and being a burden to their society. While potentially frustrating in its very variety for those seeking a neat summary of the place of pedlars in Dutch society, this range of visually conveyed views remains a highly valuable resource to complement and correct potentially one-sided views derived from textual sources. For, it is only when all of these sources—literary, visual, and archival—are juxtaposed that one will be able to produce a more reliable, balanced perspective of these ever-present, but often untraceable figures and their place in the early-modern Dutch Republic.

COSTUMES AND CUSTOMS IN PRINT:
TRAVEL, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND THE REPRESENTATION OF
STREET-SELLERS IN EARLY MODERN ITALY*

Melissa Calaresu

The temptation to consider the representations of street-sellers in early-modern Europe as ethnographic sources is hard to resist. The tradition of depicting systematically the variety of street-selling dates back to the 16th century at least, with the series of *Cris de Paris*, through the publication of the engravings of Annibale Carracci as *Arti di Bologna* in the middle of the 17th century, and later to the well-known and widely disseminated images of the *The Cryes of the City of London drawne after the life* by Marcellus Laroon (and his imitators) in the late 17th century and republished until the early 19th century.[1] The newly discovered drawings by Hugh Douglas Hamilton of street-sellers in Dublin have been recently integrated into this tradition.[2] The emphasis within this tradition is the categorising and typologising of the variety of street traders in these cities, initially laid out one by one in a strip along the printed page and later as individual engravings showing more detail of the street traders in their specific urban contexts in the Carracci-based and Laroon engravings. There is no doubt that the depiction of street traders stemmed from an interest in representing the variety of urban life—whether in 16th-century Paris or 18th-century London—but the questions of why exactly this interest arose, and for whom the images were produced, have proven more divisive. Debates concerning the extent to which these images accurately reflect urban realities continue, against which arguments are made for various representational modes that are understood to be developed in the engravings.

[1] See K. Beall, *Cries and Itinerant Traders* (Hamburg, 1975).

[2] *The Cries of Dublin: Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760,* ed. W. Laffan (Dublin, 2003).

Literary and art historians find echoes of long-standing literary and representational tropes—the ridiculous, the comic, the marginal, the deformed, and the poor, for example—which dominate, they would argue, over any attempt to represent reality. In contrast, social historians have a tendency to 'read' the images more transparently, arguing that these images reveal aspects of a wider social history of urban life which written records only suggest or ignore entirely.[3]

Historians of the representation of street-selling have rarely considered the role of travel in the production of these images. This stems from a history of street cries which begins in the 16th century and which does not really take into account the expansion of travel across the continent into the 18th century, as the genre developed. Representing street cries in print was part of a specifically civic tradition, and the focus of historians has been on the civic elite as the primary consumers of these images, further speculating that artisans, lower down the social ladder, bought cheaper versions of the street cries from their own cities.[4] It is notoriously difficult to reconstruct the production of popular printed material which survives in very limited numbers, or its publics. However, once we consider the role of travel and, in particular, the Grand Tour, as the impetus behind the production of some of these images, a different story emerges which connects the representation of street traders with a wider history of ethnographic representation and practice in the early-modern period (and into the modern period). By focusing on travel to Italy, this story becomes not simply one of a civic or aristocratic elite, viewing street life from above, ridiculing, moralising, or wanting to know more about its social inferiors from within their city walls, but also a story of travellers from outside, sometimes moralising, but also increasingly wanting to know more about the inhabitants of the cities they visited and to commemorate their visit. By the end of the 18th century, in fact, travellers' ethnographic interests elided with a contemporary belief that 'national' cultures were expressed most purely in the culture of the people. For many travellers, the activities of the streets of Italian cities—with their fairs and markets, popular entertainments, and religious processions—were

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[3] See S. Shesgreen, 'In search of the marginal and outcast: the "lower orders" in the cries of London and Dublin', in T. Nichols, ed., *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe: Picturing the Social Margins* (Aldershot, 2007).

[4] See S. McTighe, 'Perfect deformity, ideal beauty, and the *Imaginaire* of work: the reception of Annibale Carracci's *Arti di Bologna* in 1646', *Oxford Art Journal*, 16.1 (1993), 75–91.

understood as particularly spontaneous and authentic expressions of popular urban life (even if, as we know, they were also bound by strict codes of behaviour and hierarchies). This explains some of the interest in street-selling in Grand Tour accounts and in the album books of costumes and customs they brought home with them. While the enlightened public of Europe unified itself increasingly through common modes of sociability, by the reading of the same books and journals, and the rhetoric of cosmopolitanism, national differences were distinguished in the popular cultures of Europe by the end of the 18th century, through the representation of the variety of sellers and products sold on the streets in cities. These representations, in turn, contributed to a longer and later story about national (or regional) differences into the 19th century.

Placing the tradition of representing street sellers within the ethnographic tradition of early-modern Europe—created, in part, by more opportunities to travel—seems an obvious strategy, if one looks forward to the 19th century when Europeans travelled even more and the market for souvenirs of their visits grew. This, however, extends the accepted genealogy on the representation of street-selling, which usually ends in the 18th century when many agree that typologies which stretch into the 19th century become fixed. Rarely have historians moved forward and connected up the pictorial tradition of representing different social and ethnic types inside and outside of Europe in the early-modern period with the urban ethnographic tradition of the 19th century—for instance, in the images and vignettes of street life in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* collated by Léon Curmer of 1843 and which, in turn, inspired imitations across Europe including Francesco de Bourcard's *Usi e costumi di Napoli e contorni descritti e dipinti* of 1858, through to the photographic documentation of street life and the urban poor in European cities at the end of the 19th century. Milliot's thorough study of the Parisian cries tradition stops with the French revolution, although Sean Shesgreen's study of the London tradition ends briefly but suggestively in the early 19th century.[5] Both of these studies focus on the civic tradition of self-representation and the consumption of these images from within these cities—from its French and German origins in the 16th century and its later development in picturing and distinguishing urban life of the growing metropolises

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[5] See V. Milliot, *Les 'Cris de Paris', ou, Le peuple travesti: les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1995). See also the last chapter on the pastoral and anti-pastoral in S. Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002).

of the 18th century. However, if we focus on the Italian tradition of depicting street sellers (which has been left out of the history of 'street cries' except for the recognition accorded to the Carracci images), another impetus in their production emerges which links directly with the later 19th century—the role of travel in the creation and later consumption of images of street-sellers, as part of a market for what may be termed the urban picturesque.[6]

Without doubt the civic origins of the images privileged by Shesgreen and Milliot and the ethnographic interest in popular culture from travellers fed into the Italian traditions of urban reportage in the later 19th century. The tracing of that trajectory could be extended to include, for example, the photographs of the Alinari brothers of the urban poor of Naples in the 1880s which were, by then, as much inspired by philanthropy as curiosity. However, few have dared to bridge the historical and historiographical gulf between the late 18th century and the late 19th century. In fact, rarely do European historians straddle the period from the late 18th century beyond the 1820s or 1830s. John Barrell, for instance, in his important book on the depiction of the rural poor in English painting does not go past 1840.[7] This is understandable, of course, as print technologies changed rapidly in the 19th century (for example, with lithography), and, more importantly, the social movements and reforms after the 1840s also changed contemporary conceptions of poverty and charity and, with them, the visual paradigms of the poor.[8] Nonetheless, despite the centuries and paradigms which divide the 16th from the 19th, interesting continuities emerge which link up to a tradition of representing the peoples of the world, including the inhabitants of rural and urban Europe, in early-modern costume books and later in Grand Tour books of European customs.

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[6] See M.T. Calaresu, 'From the street to stereotype: urban space, travel, and the picturesque in late eighteenth-century Naples', *Italian Studies*, 62.2 (2007), 189–203.

[7] J. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980).

[8] S. Shesgreen includes some of these later images in the introduction to *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon* (Aldershot, 1990), figs. 33–4, 49. On changing representations of a particular street-seller, 'la belle Madeleine', in 19th-century Paris, see T. Stammers, 'The myth of the belle Madeleine: street culture and celebrity in nineteenth-century Paris', in M.T. Calaresu & D. van den Heuvel, eds., *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Streets from Antiquity to the Present* (forthcoming).

The Costume Book of Cesare Vecellio

Published in Venice in 1598, Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi, e moderni di tutto il mondo*, represented the apex of the emergent genre of costume books, several hundred of which were published between the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[9] Vecellio's book depicted and described the dress of men and women from around the world, from Rome and other Italian cities to Lapland, Turkey, and Virginia, from the Pope and the Kings of Spain and France to ancient Romans, modern Calabrian peasants, and Secota shamans. In this second and expanded edition, the inclusion of the variety of humanity, through the varied strata of society, from the regional to inter-continental, and its past and its present, suggests the encyclopaedic intentions of its author and the expanding curiosity of his public for novelty. For Italy, Vecellio included single images with short descriptions of a variety of inhabitants of different cities and their hinterlands, a noblewoman from Venice, a prostitute from Bologna, and peasant women from Gaeta and the island of Ischia, for example. Although the book begins with Rome, with the image of an ancient Roman patrician, because of its ancient glory and 'its majesty and position as the seat of the pope', and after Venice, moves out to include cities in the north and south of the peninsula—to Genoa, Ferrara, Naples, and further south, the centre of the book is the city of Venice and its inhabitants.[10] Vecellio presents a visual and textual ethnography for Venice including views of the city and details of the customs, costumes, and manners of its inhabitants, following a format not unlike that recommended in instructions for travellers visiting foreign lands.[11] These textual additions distinguish Vecellio's book from

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[9] A first edition of 428 woodcut plates was published in 1590 as *Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* and the second with 503 plates in 1598, *Habiti antichi, e moderni di tutto il mondo*. The second edition was expanded to include images from the Americas. Subsequent editions have, for the most part, been based on the second edition, although the most recent English translation is based on the first with the American images added at the end: *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni: The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas*, eds. M. Rosenthal & A.R. Jones (London, 2008). For the most recent Italian tradition, see Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, ed. A. Leopardi (Bologna, 1982), in which a short biography of Vecellio (1521–1601) appears (183). For a near complete list of contemporary costume books, see J.A. Olian, 'Sixteenth-century costume books', *Dress*, 3 (1977), 20–48, combined with Rosenthal's and Jones's additions in *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 43, n.24.

[10] *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 59 (7 in the 1664 pagination).

[11] See J.P. Rubiés, 'Instructions for travelers: Teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology*, 9 (1996), 139–90, reprinted in Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot, 2007).

the many other costume books of the period which consisted simply of images, even if, until recently, the technical descriptions of cloth and clothing in Vecellio's book have been of most interest to historians.[12] However, as the subtitle of a mid-17th-century edition of Vecellio's book highlights, the prospective interest for the book was not only artistic— 'A very useful book for painters, designers, sculptors, architects'—but also ethnographic—'for any curious or travelling genius'.[13] Costume books in the 16th century were part of a crystallisation of interest in an expanding world and the desire to document that world, and their publication was complemented by the publication of maps, universal histories, and ethnographic studies. Venice, as a cross-roads between east and west, was connected up to the wider world through trade networks and pilgrimage and might have offered Vecellio the possibility of interviewing travellers for descriptions of clothes worn by peoples in lands they had just visited.[14] The ethnographic value of Vecellio's book, however, has been contested by Rosenthal and Jones who, in a recent edition of the book, noted the 'blankness' of the backgrounds and descriptions of the images from the New World which are far less detailed than the watercolours and engravings from which the images were derived.[15] Nonetheless, the ethnographic observations closer to home, for Venice and the other Italian cities, are much richer.

For each Italian city in *Habiti antichi, e moderni*, the social hierarchies are reflected in the order in which the images of men and women appear. For Venice, the city for which the social variety within the city is most elaborate, the nobility is followed by lawyers, merchants, and scholars, and finally by those on the social 'margins' of the city including many who inhabited or worked on the streets—prostitutes, orphans, beggars, members of confraternities who accompanied condemned criminals to their execution, and street porters known as *facchini* and *cestaruoli* (Figure 8.1). Street-sellers do not appear in the book, or, rather they are not directly

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[12] Vecellio himself emphasised the value of his book for visual artists in his letter to the Reader, in *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 27. Vecellio is also well known to costume historians for a book on lace patterns, *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1591).

[13] C. Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, overo, Raccolta di figure delineate dal gran Titiano, e da Cesare Vecellio suo fratello, diligentemente intagliate, conforme alle nationi del mondo* (Venice, 1664). Its usefulness to painters and others is highlighted in the subtitle of this later volume: *Libro utilissimo a Pittori, Dissegnatori, Scultori, Archittetti, & ad ogni curioso, e peregrino ingegno*.

[14] *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 24.

[15] *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 35–7.
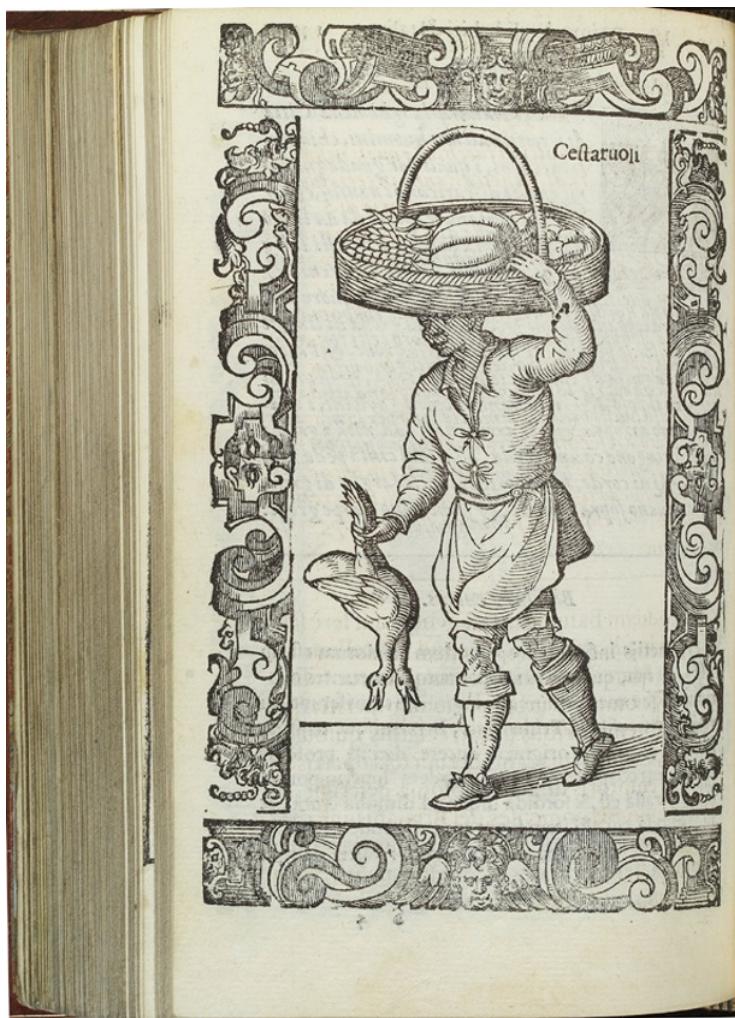
Figure 8.1. 'Cestaruoli', in Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, e moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598). Wellcome Library, London.

described as such, although there are several images of *contadini* or local peasants with produce at their feet or carrying it on their backs ready to sell in the city's markets.[16] Vecellio's book was clearly part of a contemporary desire to collect and to categorise humanity and its religions and

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[16] See, for example, the figures of the 'Contadina Trivisana' and the 'Contadino', in *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 233–4 (181–2 in the 1664 edition). On the rural

customs, and to create new taxonomies for an expanding natural world, but also to describe and depict the social hierarchies and variety within Italian cities. He was concerned as much with custom as he was with costume, even if the most recent edition of his book continues to emphasise the material aspects of fabrics and clothing in the Renaissance.[17] These ethnographic observations were not without their moralising and idealising elements, not unlike the street cries tradition—Rosenthal and Jones argue, for instance, that the images of Venetians from an earlier age are accompanied by descriptions which idealise earlier models of feminine virtue and comportment.[18] However, while the ethnographic detail in Vecellio's costume book has come to be studied in greater depth, this key text in the history of costume books has not been linked up with a longer history of early-modern ethnographic representation of the street.

Other books in the last decades of the 16th century reflected similarly the taxonomic impulse found in Vecellio's text and images. Tommaso Garzoni's *Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo e nobili et ignobili*, first published in Venice in 1584, is an erudite compilation of descriptions of different professions.[19] It was a hugely popular book in Italy and Europe, with four editions in Italian in the first five years after its initial publication, and with Latin and German translations, a Spanish adaptation, and many imitations into the 17th century.[20] One of several taxonomic works written by Garzoni (which have been described as *erudito-classificatorio*), the *Piazza universale* presents a social topography of an imaginary city not unlike where it was published, Venice.[21] In the main square or *piazza* of the title, a social hierarchy, as in Vecellio's book, is represented with the nobility at the beginning of the book through to lawyers and printers, ending with a greater variety of those who lived

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dimensions of urban street-seller networks, see L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Durham, 1996), 94–120.

[17] J.G. Dalle Mese, 'Introduzione', *Il vestito e la sua immagine: Atti del convegno in omaggio a Cesare Vecellio nel quarto anniversario della morte* (Belluno, 2002), 13. The recent English edition of Vecellio by Rosenthal and Jones does begin to engage with the ethnographic, and refers to some recent work: *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 43 n.18.

[18] *Carlo Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, 29–32.

[19] For a recent annotated edition, see T. Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, eds. P. Cherchi & B. Collina, 2 vols. (Turin, 1996). First published in Venice, Garzoni's book was published and translated through to the end of the 17th century with the last early-modern edition in Venice in 1683. All references are to the modern edition cited above.

[20] P. Cherchi, 'Invito alla lettura della *Piazza*', in Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, 1: XXI; for the 16th-century Italian editions, see also 'Nota al testo', 1: CVII-IX.

[21] Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, 1: XXII.

and worked on the streets—musicians, robbers, street-sweepers (*spaz-zacamini*), rosary-bead sellers (*coronieri*) and chicken sellers (*pollaruoli*) and many other kinds of street-sellers.[22] And, while the erudite knowledge of Garzoni (as well as his comedic skills) are displayed in the text and footnotes—with references to classical authors, the Scriptures, humanists such as Pico della Mirandola and Cardano, and characters from the Commedia dell'Arte—the ethnographic detail of the street also comes through in some of the chapters or *discorsi*. For instance, we can consider his description (also in Vecellio) of the *facchini* in Venice who originated from Bergamo, or his descriptions of the variety of products produced by bakers and sold on the streets of many Italian cities, or his suggestion of contemporaries' anxieties, expressed throughout many of the chapters, often satirically, about the honesty of street-sellers and the worth of the products being sold.[23]

The Prints of Ambrogio Brambilla

The most detailed visual and textual representations of selling on the street in this period in Italy, however, come not from Venice but from late 16th-century Rome. A series of prints depicting street vendors were published from 1579 in Rome, with further figures added in later prints from the early 17th century.[24] One known engraver of these prints was Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla, although many others were engraved anonymously and published by Lorenzo Vaccari.[25] The print of 1579 was entitled 'Portrait of those who go round Rome' (with later versions published after this date) and depicted fifty figures in five rows walking forwards and backwards from one row to the next and selling raw and prepared foodstuffs,

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[22] For a complete list of the 'professions', see Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, 2: 1709–15.

[23] See chapter 114, 'De' fachini o bastagi in genere, e in specie de brentadori e carbonari, carriolari e cestaruoli', chapter 133, 'De'fornari, o panatieri, e confertinari e zambellari e offelari e cialdonari', and chapter 139 'De tricoli overi rivendroli' (Garzoni, *Piazza universale*, 2: 1276–82, 1352–5, and 1371–3).

[24] Achille Bertarelli cites and reproduces singleton prints from earlier in the 16th century in Bertarelli, 'I gridi di piazza ed i mestieri ambulanti *italiani* dal secolo XVI al XX', *Il Libro e la Stampa: Bulletino Ufficiale della Società bibliografica* italiana, n.s. 1 (1907), 13–14.

[25] Short biographies of Brambilla who was from Milan and Vaccari (or della Vaccharia) who came from Bologna, both active in Rome at the end of the 16th century, appear in M. Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620* (London, 2001), 223 and 235, and both are discussed in C.L.C.E Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (London & Turnhout, 2008), *passim.*, although Vaccari is identified as both a publisher and seller of books and prints (on these distinctions, see Witcombe, *Print Publishing*, 10–11).

household goods, illustrated prints, musical instruments, clothing and footwear (Figure 8.2).[26] Under each figure appears the cry of the street seller; for example, the print seller cries, 'There is no occupation more honourable after the keymaker than the bookseller!' (the fifth figure from the left on the bottom row).[27] The first known print of street sellers by Ambrogio Brambilla is dated 1582 (with later versions printed until at least 1612) and is entitled, 'Portrait of those who go selling and working in Rome with new additions of all those who were not in included in the others

Figure 8.2. Detail of [Ambrogio Brambilla (?)], 'Ritratto di quelli che vanno per Roma' ('Portraiture of Diverse Street Vendors'), Rome [1579], engraving with etching, in *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, A171, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

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[26] Although this print is tentatively attributed to Brambilla, it is very different from the 1582 print cited in the footnote below. For the later versions of the 1579 print with additions, see *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, A172–179, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, which includes images of the sellers cut out for an album (A176–179), discussed below.

[27] It reads: 'Non ne mestier dopo quel del chiavaro che sia d'honor più degno d'libraro'.

until now', suggesting that there were earlier versions of the same print (Figure 8.3).[28] A much larger number of sellers—192, not including the animals that feature alongside the sellers—is depicted on one sheet, although the detail of their clothes and of the goods they carry is much cruder than the 1579 print. The clothes are less distinctive but in both prints the instruments with which the sellers serve and carry the goods can be clearly distinguished.[29]
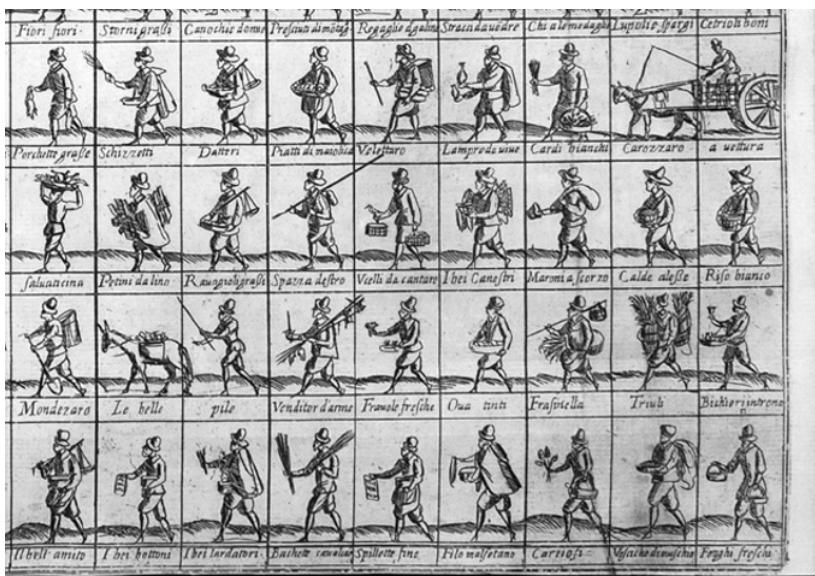
Figure 8.3. Detail of Ambrogio Brambilla, *Ritrato de quelli che vano vendendo et lavorando per Roma con la nova agionta di tutti quelli che nelle altre mancavano sin al presente* (Rome, 1612). PL 2964 53. Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

[28] Ambrogio Brambilla, 'Ritrato de quelli che vano vendendo et lavorando per Roma con la nova agionta de tutti quelli che nelle altre mancavano sin al presente' (Rome, 1582) is held in the British Museum (British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 174.c.31 or 1947-3-19-26 (173)) and reproduced in Bury, *The Print in Italy*, Cat. No. 114, 166. A later print of the same engraving (with the same title) and dated 1612 is held in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge (Pepys PL 2964 53) and reproduced here. See also Figure 6.2 in this volume.
[29] The earliest prints of London street-cries date from the late 16th century and include between only six and 36 figures on a page: M. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven & London, 2010), 355–6.

In the case of the Brambilla broadsheet of 1582, the street sellers are represented as part of a grid, almost as if occupying separate niches of a collector's cabinet. As Shesgreen, in this volume, and others have noted, this grid was a common way of representing street criers into the 17th century; it also allowed for comparison on one sheet, although the detail of the separate sellers in the Brambilla print is distinguished only in the objects which they carry and hawk. The same kind of grid was also used for costume books in this period (although the Vecellio figures occupied separate pages, like many of the costume images of the 17th century). In fact, Brambilla engraved a similar grid in a folio engraving of female costumes from Rome to Calcutta which was printed in 1602 (but based on an earlier design printed in Rome in the early 1580s).[30] And, just as the street-sellers were only distinguishable by the objects which they carry and hawk, so were the women made distinguishable not by their features but by their headdresses, jewellery, and fans (Figure 8.4).[31] Clearly, this contemporary ethnographic interest crossed a variety of subject matter, from street traders to female costumes in the late 16th century, but which have been confined to separate iconographical genealogies—costumes or customs—by later historians. As the Brambilla broadsheet and folio engraving suggest, this overlap in the production and presentation of images of costumes and customs of the world in the late 16th century needs to be considered when piecing together the early origins of the representation of street-sellers in early-modern Europe.[32] Although the different publics for these images are harder to determine, it is clear that the representation of street sellers was part of a wider production of images and descriptions of the variety of the world—whether for well-to-do Roman artisans interested in the inhabitants of their city or the Venetian merchant curious about the expanding world. However, while Venetians and Romans 'discovered the world (and their cities) from their armchairs', Europeans from across Europe were coming to Rome: some as pilgrims, but also, increasingly, those curious to see the remains of the ancient world and the wonders of modern Rome.[33]

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[30] B. Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto, 2005), 74–5.

[31] Brambilla also produced larger single-page prints of some of these images, including one of the 'venetiana' reproduced in A. Omodeo, ed., *Mostra di stampe popolari venete del '500* (Florence, 1964), no. 42.

[32] This overlap in the production and presentation of the natural world is explored in B. Wilson, *The World in Venice*, esp. 70–120.

[33] L. Horodowich, 'Armchair travelers and the Venetian discovery of the New World', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (2005), 1039–62.

Figure 8.4. Ambrogio Brambilla, *Serie di costumi femminili* (Rome, 1601). Alberto Milano collection.

Both the street-seller and costume grids were part of a prolific production by Ambrogio Brambilla of prints of a great variety of subjects between 1575 and 1590. These included picture puzzles as well as printed game-boards such as 'pluck the owl' around which appear figures of street vendors such as hat and lemon sellers, a street sweeper, and vendors of water, liqueur, and fans.[34] These kinds of prints, no doubt, were intended for a local public. Most of Brambilla's prints, however, depicted scenes from Rome, ancient and modern. They included depictions of contemporary events such as a fireworks display at Castel Sant'Angelo (1579), reconstructions of ancient Roman buildings and sites such as the harbour of Ostia (1581), the Colosseum (1581), and the Baths of Diocletian (1582), architectural drawings of exteriors and interiors or Roman buildings such as St Peter's Basilica and the Sistine Chapel (1582), topographical views of Roman squares such as S. Maria del Popolo which included some street

[34] A. Brambilla, 'Il piacevole e nuovo giuoco novamente trovato detto pela il chiù', Rome, 1589 (British Museum 1893,0331.32). On this print, see Bury, *The Print in Italy*, Cat. No. 103, 152–3.

sellers (1589), as well as several grids of, for example, portraits of emperors from Julius Caesar to Rudolf II (1582) and another of popes from St Peter to Sixtus V (1585).[35] These prints were sold individually as part of a series called *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* and bound into albums by travellers.

Historians of print have focused on the production of the prints themselves—on the complicated process by which a print was designed, engraved, printed, published, and finally sold, but, with less evidence at hand, they are more reluctant to speculate on the publics for these prints.[36] However, if one considers Brambilla's printed grids of street-sellers, women's clothing, and Roman emperors within the context of the history of travel, a better understanding of the publics for the prints of street sellers might suggest itself. We know that northern European travellers to Italy began to collect in this period, at the end of the 16th century, images of the cities which they visited or in which they studied, in friendship albums or *alba amicorum*, now scattered in libraries around the world. These scrapbooks or albums are unique records of their owners' and makers' time away from home but also of the costumes and customs of the cities they visited. We know, for instance, that drawings and watercolours as well as printed images, including costume prints, of the inhabitants of Venice were put into German students' *alba* as well as personal reminiscences and visiting cards of friends and teachers.[37] The printed grids that Brambilla engraved were ideal for cutting up and putting into albums, and further research might reveal images of ethnographic or occupational types such as street sellers in the *alba amicorum*. Even without a grid, the individual unity of each of the figures and the spaces between them allowed 'collectors' the chance to cut up the street-seller figures to put in an album, as evidenced in the cut-up figures in the Berlin Collection at the University of Chicago (Figure 8.5).[38]

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[35] For a list of these prints by Brambilla, see Witcombe, *Print Publishing*, 409. Some are reproduced in the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae Digital Collection at the University of Chicago: <http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/index.html> [11 August 2010].

[36] See, for instance, the introductions in Bury & Witcombe, cited above.

[37] See A. Bertarelli & H.D. Prior, *Il biglietti di visita italiano: Contributo alla storia del costume e dell'incisione nel secolo XVIII* (Bergamo, 1911), 12.

[38] The University of Chicago acquired its copy of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* as four scrapbook-like volumes in 1891 in Berlin. The images were disbound in 1965 and there is no record of the original binding or placement of the images (e-mail correspondence with Juliet Gardner, Reference Librarian, Special Collections Center, University of Chicago, 16 Aug. 2010).

Figure 8.5. 'Portraiture of diverse vendors', *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, A176, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

Brambilla's print production was obviously geared towards the tourist or pilgrim market in Rome. Just as Grand Tourists in the 18th and 19th centuries brought home albums of drawings and prints, and later photographs, of Neapolitan scenes, so travellers to 16th-century Rome brought back albums of prints of scenes from Rome, ancient and modern, often chosen from a collection of hundreds which were sold as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* from the 1570s by Antonio Lafrieri.[39] Brambilla's prints of Rome were engraved for the publisher Claudio Duchetti who took over Lafrieri's business after his death in 1577, although the 1579 street-sellers print attributed to Brambilla was published by Lorenzo Vaccari, Lafrieri's,

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[39] Antonio Lafrieri published a title page in the 1570s, and, with this title, buyers bound together their selection of prints from Lafrieri's stock.

and later, Ducchetti's rival.[40] Whether Brambilla's street-sellers print would be bound together with his printed grid of emperors or popes or views of Rome for travellers in these albums or cut up for pasting is not clear. In a much later and more 'popular' example, a scrapbook for children dating from 1806, cut-up images of street-sellers are pasted alongside cut-up images of national types such as the Turk, 'Welchman', and the Zealander (Figure 8.6)—costume and custom sit easily together.[41] It is possible that, similarly, the images of street-sellers, peoples from the world, and a variety of other subjects were pasted or posted alongside each other in albums or on walls and tables and a variety of other surfaces as reminders of time spent in Rome.[42] The printed grids of street-sellers by

Figure 8.6. Scrap-book, British, *c.* 1806. Private collection.

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[40] On the murderous aftermath of Lafrieri's death and Duchetti's inheritance of the shop and some of his plates, see Witcombe, *Print Publishing*, 292–312.

[41] My thanks to Philip Kelleway for kindly allowing me access to this work.

[42] There is some but scant evidence of the use and display of prints in and outside of the home. For example, Richard Stonley, an early reader of Shakespeare, who died in 1600, bought a copy of a costume book, entitled *Habitus gentium* in 1582, which appeared 'in frames of the fashion of strange countries' in his London house gallery in an inventory of 1597. See J. Scott-Warren, 'Books in the bedchamber: religion, accounting and the library of

Brambilla, therefore, need to be considered in terms of their 'collectability' not only for a civic elite but, also, as I have suggested, by travellers wishing to bring back a memento of their time in Rome in which the cries, smells, and sight of the street-sellers and their goods dominated the streets in between visits to churches and ancient sites. In fact, one of the prints from the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* series brings together costume and custom in ancient and modern Rome: behind the Egyptian obelisk in front of the Lateran palace, Brambilla depicts the profile of a young woman, not unlike that in his costume grid, walking across the square and a few steps away from her servant is a street vendor (Figure 8.7).[43] Vecellio's costume book, Garzoni's catalogue of professions, and Brambilla's prints of sellers, popes, and emperors, in different forms and different representational traditions, all expressed a contemporary interest, at the end of the 16th century, in wanting to know and categorise the world and its history in all its variety. It is within this tradition that the origins of the representation of street-sellers in Italy must be understood, especially given the centrality of Annibale Carracci's drawings of street-sellers, executed in precisely this period, in the historiography on street-cries in early-modern Europe.

Custom and Costume in Annibale Carracci and Wenceslaus Hollar

Historians of representations of street-sellers have rightly emphasised the importance of the engravings known as *Le arti di Bologna*, based on Annibale Carracci's drawings of the 1580s and first printed in Rome in 1646. Much academic discussion has circled around the production and meaning of the original drawings within Carracci's career and the reception of the engravings based on the designs almost forty years after his death in 1609. In a suggestive and inspiring article, Sheila McTighe makes a convincing argument for their origins in the contemporaneous engravings of street-sellers from Rome in the 1580s such as Brambilla's.[44] She has

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Richard Stonley', in J.N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge, 2010), 239. On the applied uses of print, including as board games and inserts in trays known as trenchers, see Jones, *Print in Early Modern England*, 'Introduction', and S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999), ch. 2.

[43] From the same year, see also the woman with a fan and the street sellers in the depiction of the Column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna in Rome (British Museum, 1947, 0319.26.101).

[44] For the best and most innovative account of Carracci's *Le arti di Bologna*, see McTighe, 'Perfect Deformity'. For the place of the printed street-cries within the social and urban

Figure 8.7. Detail of Ambrogio Brambilla, *The Egyptian obelisk of Thutmose III restored and re-positioned at the Lateran by Domenico Fontana during the pontificate of Sixtus V* (Rome, 1589). 1947, 0319.26.89. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

also made some effort in picking apart the tension between interpretations of the original drawings as reflecting a late 16th-century interest in documenting street life and the later engravings as idealised figures which fit in to contemporary debates after Carracci's death.[45] Although the *Arti* engravings have been hijacked by many Carracci scholars trying to place them within a history of art theory in the 17th century (just as they were appropriated, she argues, by the *virtuosi* themselves), McTighe's account carefully and clearly places the original drawings within the social context of Carracci's family. They do, she argues, 'what the older *cris de Paris* tradition merely promised' by deflecting this tradition 'toward a concrete observation of the social circumstances of work, which were his own family's circumstances'.[46] McTighe, however, does not argue for a strictly ethnographic treatment of Bolognese street life by Carracci, as she recognises the ambiguity of the artist's social position in early-modern Italy as well as the complexity of contemporary attitudes to work and the representation of work in this period.[47]

Although the scholarship surrounding Carracci's *Le arti di Bologna* continues to circle around the extent to which the artist was bound by stylistic convention in his depiction of street life, there is no doubt that the later engravings and in particular, the 1660 edition by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, established long-lasting conventions for the depiction of street sellers into the 18th century.[48] Once we identify and emphasise the ethnographic dimension of these images, however, we can then place street sellers as part of a wider panorama of depicting the variety of the inhabitants of the world's cities in this period.[49] Rather than placing the Mitelli engravings

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context of Rome, see also Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City out of Print* (Minneapolis & London, 2001), esp. ch. 5.

[45] See, in particular, her discussion in Part IV of the article, McTighe, 'Perfect Deformity', 86–9.

[46] McTighe, 'Perfect Deformity', 84.

[47] See section III in McTighe, 'Perfect Deformity', 82–5. On the representation of work, see P. Burke, 'Representing Women's Work in Early Modern Italy', in J. Ehmer & C. Lis, eds., *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Farnham, 2009), 186. See also W.H. Sewell, 'Visions of Labour: Illustrations of the Mechanical Arts before, in, and after Diderot's *Encyclopédie*', in S. Kaplan & C.J. Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organisation, and Practice* (Ithaca, 1986), 258–86.

[48] For an anastatic reproduction of this edition, see *Di Bologna L'arti per via: Incisioni in rame di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli su disegni di Annibale Carracci* (Bologna, 2003). Achille Bertarelli lists at least two 18th-century editions of the *Arti*, one in 1740 and another in 1776, in Bertarelli, 'I gridi di piazza', 15.

[49] Prints of street-sellers by the Bolognese engraver Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1694–1718) were part of a prodigious production into the 18th century and which included a wide

between the earlier *cris de Paris* from the 16th century and the engravings by Laroon and later Amigoni of London street sellers in the late 17th and 18th centuries, we could, for instance, place the Carracci engravings alongside one of Wenceslaus Hollar's costume book (first printed in 1643) of women from cities from around the world, such as the daughter of an English merchant or a Calabrian woman, resident in Naples.[50] Although he did not depict the lower social orders in his costume books, Hollar, like Vecellio, tried to depict the variety of, in this case, women (and their clothes) from different social backgrounds from across the globe, for a viewing public, in the middle of the 17th century, which was increasingly cosmopolitan or, at least, interested in the wider world. Hollar himself was a cosmopolitan type, born in Bohemia and working in the Netherlands and England, and whose career was representative of this expanding world.[51] Although Europe was still divided by confessional differences, there was a growing public for accounts of travels in faraway places and the images of the people who inhabited them—Protestant readers in the Netherlands or England were as interested in the customs and images of the Catholic 'other' as they were in those of the Persian or Moor, as Hollar's *Theatrum Mulierum* of 1643 suggests.[52]

Samuel Pepys, for instance, instructed his nephew John Jackson to buy prints for his collection on his Grand Tour begun in 1699.[53] Jackson

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variety of popular prints including board games and a variety of moralising prints for the market in Bologna. Street-vendors were often depicted in these prints, see, for example, Mitelli, 'I ragazz int l'uscir dall scol' (1710), Civica Raccolta delle Stampe 'Achille Bertarelli' (Milan), RM m.2–69. On the Mitelli collection in Milan, see A. Bertarelli, *Le incisioni di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli: catalogo critico* (Milan, 1940) and, on Mitelli, see the article by F. Sorce in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 75 (Rome, 2011).

[50] See 'Mulier Calabra, vulgo, Foretana di Napoli', *Theatrum Mulierum* (London, 1643), Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection, University of Toronto <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/index.cfm)> [21 September 2010].

[51] Wenceslaus Hollar was born in Prague in 1607, died in London in 1677, and worked in Antwerp between his two London periods. See A. Griffiths, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings from the Collections of the National Gallery, Prague, and the British Museum, London* (London, 1979).

[52] We also know of the German traveler, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a traveller and collector of Oriental manuscripts, who bought a copy of the 'Cryes of London' in a visit to London in 1710 (Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *London in 1710: From the travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach*, W.H. Quarrell & M. Mare, eds. (London, 1934), 164). My thanks to Sean Shesgreen for this reference. One of Ambrogio Brambilla's printed grids of street vendor was bequeathed to the British Museum by the Irish collector, Hans Sloane (1660–1753). See Brambilla, 'Ritrato de quelli che vano vendendo et lavorando per Roma' (Rome, 1582), British Museum, 1947, 0319.26.173. On Sloane's print collection, see A. Griffiths, *Landmarks in Print Collecting* (London, 1996), 21–29.

[53] *The Cryes of London: The Collection in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. R. Luckett (Cambridge, 1994), x–xi.

returned with some of Simon Guillin's etchings after Carracci (1646) and a full set of Mitelli's prints after Carracci (1660) as well as single sheets of a grid of street-vendors inspired by Brambilla (dated 1612) (Figure 8.3) and two images by Francesco Vilamena of a chestnut seller and an ink vendor from the early 17th century.[54] Both sets of prints after Carracci appear in the 1699 stocklists of the Roman publisher, Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, now preserved in the Pepys library.[55] Pepys held an extensive collection of street-cries and he put his collection of 'Crys' alongside his 'Habits' or costume plates, suggesting, as I have done here, the contemporary association of costumes and customs across genres.[56] The Carracci prints of street sellers were no doubt initially produced for local elites in the mid-17th century, for the Roman aristocracy, in particular, but these early editions must have circulated alongside 18th-century editions of the engravings in the expanding market for Italian prints sold to Grand Tourists in Rome. Attempts to reconstruct ownership of the Carracci engravings of the street-sellers in print collections outside of Italy would have to be made, but there is no doubt, judging from an initial survey, that the prints of Bolognese street-sellers were of interest to English readers such as Pepys, just as the costume books were.[57] In turn, the extent of this cosmopolitan public is emphasized by the multi-lingual titles that accompany Laroon and later Amigoni's images of London street-sellers.[58] It is to this Grand Tour market for images of street-sellers that we now turn and, more specifically, to a consideration of the production of images for an international public which was increasingly interested in the customs and costumes of the inhabitants of Italy.

Italy and the Grand Tour

To jump from the editions of the Carracci prints of the 1640s to Italy more than a century later, of course, does not take into account the street-cries traditions which continued to develop in England and in France in this

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[54] See respectively Pepys Library PL 2964, 38a-51b, 54–74, 53, and 52. The Villamena prints appear in Beall, *Cries and Itinerant Traders*, 364–5.

[55] G.G. Rossi, *Indice delle stampe* (Rome, 1699), Pepys Library, PL 491, although Luckett suggests that the Guillin etchings did not come from Rossi (*Cryes*, xi).

[56] See also Luckett's suggestions that the iconography of costumes and occupations originates in early 16th-century 'kalendars' (*Cryes*, xi).

[57] See also C. Robertson & C. Whistler, eds., *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections* (Oxford, 1996).

[58] See Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, ch. 5.

period (I have already mentioned Laroon and Amigoni), nor the changes which were to take place in the format and representation of street-sellers into the 18th century. The strength and continuity of the Carracci images cannot be underestimated, but other scholars have already recounted this trajectory in interesting and fruitful ways in relation to the street-cries tradition.[59] The images from Italy which most closely follow Carracci, a fact reflected in their title, and fit most neatly into this story are the 60 images of street-sellers by Gaetano Zompini, which were first printed as *Le Arti che vanno per via nella Citta di Venezia* in 1753. A later edition was published in 1785 by the British resident in Venice, John Strange, with the caption under each image in Venetian verse, and sometimes included English translations of the captions.[60] The volume mirrored the format, style, and subject matter of prints of street-cries from Larroon at the end of the 17th century to Paul Sandby at the end of the 18th.[61] In one image, it's as if the intended public for this large and expensive folio of engravings, represented by an elegant pair of visitors, watches over a woman selling fried pastries (Figure 8.8). Nonetheless, Zompini's images hardly get a mention in accounts of the history of street-cries and no scholar has attempted to place them clearly within a Venetian context or even within the tradition, from Carracci forward, to which they are most clearly indebted.[62] Similarly, the engravings of street-sellers by the Florentine engraver, Carlo Lasinio, dating from the very end of the 18th century, have not been studied in any detail within this representational tradition or within the context of Grand Tour travel and collecting.[63] Lasinio had already engraved the illustrations for a two-volume history of painting in Tuscany which was intended for the Grand Tour market, with parallel French and Italian texts.[64] In the years which immediately followed, Lasinio also published three series of hand-coloured engravings of street-sellers, recognisable

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[59] See Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, and Milliot's equally thorough *Les cris de Paris*, which includes an attempt to place the French images in their social and urban context.

[60] G. Zompini, *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1785). On this edition, briefly, see F. Pedroco, 'Artists of religion and genre', in J. Martineau & A. Robison, eds, *The Glory of Venice: Art in the Eighteenth Century* (London & New Haven, 1994), 287. See also G. Busetto, *Cronaca veneziana: Feste e vita quotidiniana nella Venezia del Settecento* (Venice, 1991).

[61] Shesgreen, *Images of Outcasts*, ch. 5.

[62] Only Peter Burke has suggested aristocratic clients and Grand Tourists as potential publics for these images, emphasising, in particular, the erotic potential of the images of female sellers: 'Representing Women's Work', 182–4.

[63] On Lasinio (1759–1838), see the short entry in O.H. Giglioli, *Incisatori toscani del settecento* (Florence, 1943), 39–40.

[64] M. Lastri, *L'Etruria pittrice* (2 vols., Florence, 1791–95).

Su le Sagre, e spesso anca in altri lioghi
Fritolazze mi vendo col zebibo
Che ve imprometto le ghe impata ai Cuoghi.

31
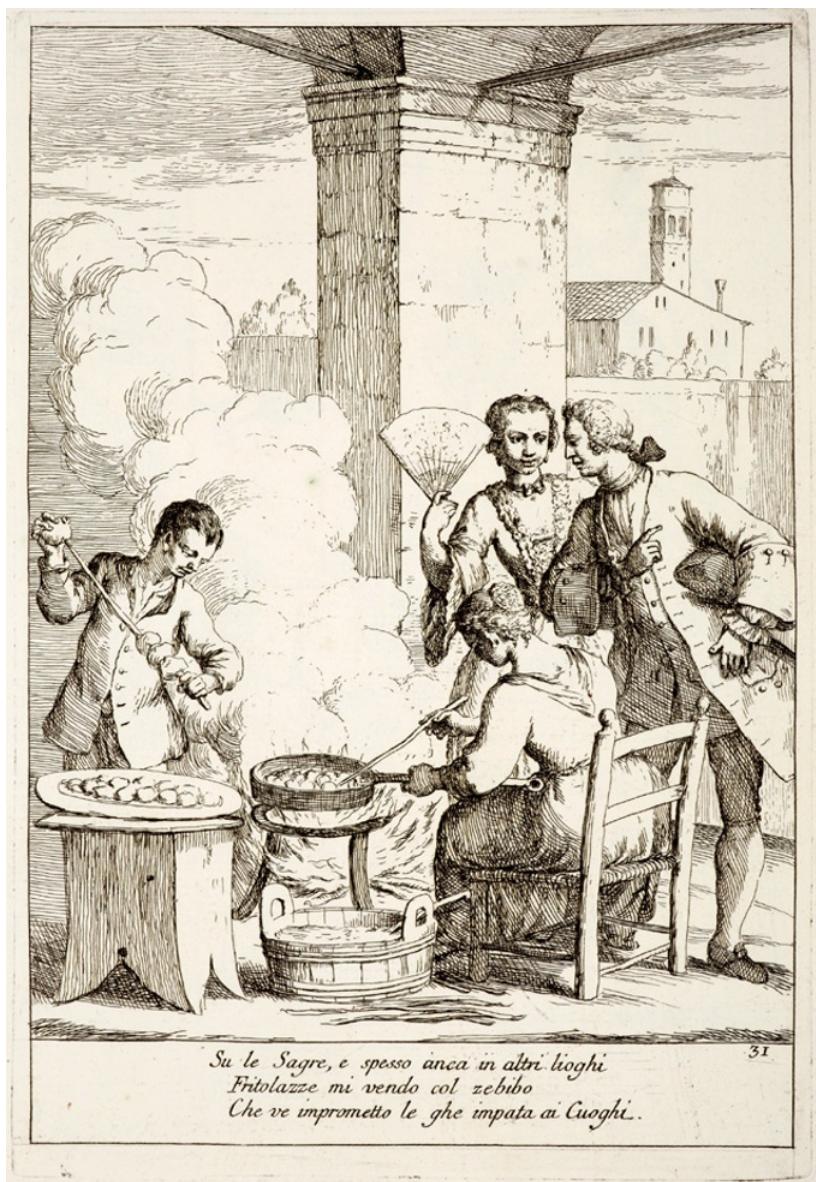
Figure 8.8. 'Frittole', in Gaetano Zompini, *Le Arti che vanno per via nella Citta di Venezia* (Venice, 1785), plate 31. By permission of Cambridge University Library.

street characters from Florence, and peasants from the countryside around Florence, combining an interest in costumes and customs for a Florentine public and beyond.[65]

From the middle of the 18th century, most travellers to Italy aimed to visit Naples. The city and its inhabitants responded to the needs of the growing influx of visitors who came to see some charred Roman remains, a smoking volcano, and the barefoot *lazzaroni* who had become increasingly identified with the city. For this last reason, the city was the site of an extraordinarily prolific production of images of street activities. Travellers increasingly put a premium on a 'true' representation of everyday life in Italy and artists, in turn, reached back to a variety of representational traditions to satisfy this new ethnographic interest. Images of street-sellers appear in Italian genre paintings from the late 16th century—from the market scenes of Campi in the 16th century to the street scenes of Giuseppe Maria Crespi in the 18th.[66] In Naples, in particular, street-sellers also began to appear as painted wooden or porcelain figures in nativity scenes known as *presepi*.[67] Artists in Naples, not surprisingly, also drew on the tradition of representing costumes and customs stretching back to the late 16th century, generated by the expansion of travel and the printing of travel literature in this period. The most significant collection of images of street-sellers in this period is Pietro Fabris' *Raccolta di varii Vestimenti ed Arti del Regno di Napoli* of 1773.[68] The title and content of the volume of 33 etchings, in fact, brings these two traditions together, with the *arti* of the street of the city and the *vestimenti* of its inhabitants. The plates include individual images of street-sellers and their customers as well as men and women from different neighbourhoods in Naples as well as outside of the city. The *Raccolta* has a place in a variety of historiographies and can be linked to the history of costume, genre painting, porcelain, travel, and ethnography in Italy. Surprisingly, however, it has not appeared in any of the literature on street-cries.

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[65] Lasinio's engravings of Florentine architecture, paintings and frescoes (some now lost) have attracted most historians' attention. See a full list of the engravings of 'I gridi di venditori ambulanti', 'Tipi popolari fiorentini', and 'Costumi di contadini toscani', and their original drawings, some of which are reproduced, in Giglioli, *Incisatori toscani*, 40–47.

[66] See S. McTighe, 'Foods and the body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci', *Art Bulletin* 86.2 (2004), 301–23, and J.T. Spike, ed., *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy* (Fort Worth, 1986).

[67] M. Calaresu, 'Collecting Neapolitans: the representation of street-life in late eighteenth-century Naples', in M. Calaresu & H. Hills, eds., *New Approaches to Naples c.1500–1800: The Power of Place* (Farnham, 2013).

[68] P. Fabris, *Raccolta di varii Vestimenti ed Arti del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1773).

Fabris was an accomplished genre painter, and his images of Neapolitans dancing the Tarantella and street scenes from Naples were purchased by British Grand Tourists.[69] The engravings in the *Raccolta* allowed Fabris to focus on the kind of ethnographic detail that was of interest to travelers to Naples. A contemporary of Fabris, the Scottish painter David Allan, similarly depicted costumes and street-scenes of Italy from the 1770s.[70] Although Allan never engraved the images, he copied them many times for different clients to be included in albums or as loose-leaf drawings. They were, as his title of the volume declares, drawn 'mostly from nature'.[71] While costume historians have argued that his detailed and accurate observations of regional costumes are invaluable to the history of clothing in this period, no one has yet explored his focus on street vendors, especially as he travelled south to Rome and Naples.[72] Allan's drawings of street-sellers, like the Fabris etchings, were both, in fact, part of a costume book tradition in which images of people working on the street were included along with images of women from the nearby islands in the Bay of Naples, not unlike the women whom Vecellio had depicted two hundred years earlier. For instance, the representation of the 'Woman from Ischia' is continuous from Vecellio's costume book in the 16th century to Fabris' etching in the 18th century to *carte-de-visite* photographs at the end of the 19th centuries.[73] In turn, the image of the Neapolitan water seller, or *acquaiolo*, depicted by Fabris in 1773, and later in lithographs and

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[69] Not much is known about the life of Pietro Fabris (active from 1750s to 1780s) and it was his collaboration with the British emissary in Naples, William Hamilton, on the 1776 publication of the Campi Phlegraei which brought his work to prominence. See I. Jenkins & K. Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection* (London, 1996), 247. See also Calaresu, 'Collecting Neapolitans'.

[70] David Allan's album is held by Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum. There are 61 watercolour drawings made during his travels to Italy 1770–76, bound as 'A Collection of Dresses by David Allan Mostly from Nature', <http://www.aagm.co.uk/Exhibitions/Archive/2009/Dresses-By-David-Allan.aspx> [3 Feb. 2013].

[71] Another album is held by the New York Public Library and there are a number of loose-leaf drawings in the collection of the National Gallery of Scotland.

[72] See F. Irwin, '"Drawn Mostly from Nature": David Allan's record of daily dress in France and Italy, 1779–1776', *Costume*, 32 (1998), 1–17.

[73] Compare Vecellio, 'Le Donne dell'Isola dell'Ischia', in *Habiti antichi* (1664), 187, Pietro Fabris, 'Donna dell'Isola di Ischia', in *Raccolta di varii Vestimenti ed Arti*, and 'Donna in costume tradizionale di Ischia', from *Costumi della campagna romana e napoletana*, Carte-de-visite, *c.* 1870. AVQ-A-001755-0034, Fratelli Alinari Museum Collections, Florence (RMFA). Vecellio also includes a woman from Gaeta which could be compared with a *carte-de-visite* of a woman in traditional clothing from Gaeta in the Alinari archives (see Vecellio, *Habiti antichi* (1664), 186, and AVQ-A-001755-0039 (*c.* 1870), Fratelli Alinari Museum Collections, Florence). Allan includes an image of a fisherman from Gaeta in 'Collection of Dresses', pl. 18.

photographs became one of the characteristic emblems of the city in the modern imagination (Figures 8.9 and 8.10).[74]

   Fabris's engravings of the Neapolitan street-sellers can, of course, be placed within the tradition of depicting street cries, a tradition with which he was likely to be familiar, because of his collaboration with Paul Sandby.[75] By the 1770s, this tradition also included the depiction of rural costumes, as many of the street vendors brought their goods to sell from the hinterland surrounding the city.[76] However, the figures by Fabris were depicted without the satirical weight of the English street-cries tradition when depicting rural types in the city.[77] Both Fabris and Allan were responding to an ethnographic interest of travellers to Naples. This interest in the culture of the streets would continue to grow into the 19th century, and would develop, alongside an interest in the depiction of regional costumes in the Kingdom of Naples.[78] Fabris and Allan were no doubt aware of the street-cries tradition, although the street-vendor as social outcast, as Shesgreen has characterised British street-cries of the 18th century, does not quite reflect the depiction of street-sellers and other characters on Italian streets by either artist. There are interpretative limits to focusing solely within traditions of the representation of street-cries when studying the rich visual production of ethnographic images in Naples at the end of the 18th century.

Conclusion

This brief analysis of the representation of street-sellers in Italy from the late 16th into the 19th centuries reveals alternative traditions to the street-cries of Milliot's 'misrepresented people' in France and Shesgreen's

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[74] On the visual dynamics between painting and photography in the 19th-century Grand Tour, and in particular in ethnographic representation, see U. Pohlmann, 'Entre madones et diables: Les mythes du peuple italien', in *Voir l'Italie et mourir: Photographie et peinture dans l'Italie du XIXe siècle* (Museé d'Orsay, Paris, 2009), 280–303.

[75] Sloan & Jenkins, *Vases and Volcanoes*, 248–9.

[76] See, for example, the 'Verdumaro Padulano', in Fabris, *Raccolta*. On regional costumes and street cries, see Irwin, 'Drawn Mostly from Nature', 2–3. These kinds of images are absent from the Zompini engravings which were all executed by 1754 but not published until 1785.

[77] Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast*, ch. 7.

[78] On continuities between the engravings and photographs of women in regional costumes in the Kingdom of Naples, see A. Trombetta, 'Note sul costume popolare nel Molise', in M.C. Masdea & A. Caròla-Perrotti, eds., *Napoli-Firenze e ritorno: Costumi popolari del Regno di Napoli nelle Collezioni Borboniche e Lorenesi* (Naples, 1991), 127–31.

Figure 8.9. Pietro Fabris, 'Banca di Acquaiolo Napolitano', in *Raccolta di varii Vestimenti ed Arti del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1773). © British Library, D-7743.h.13.
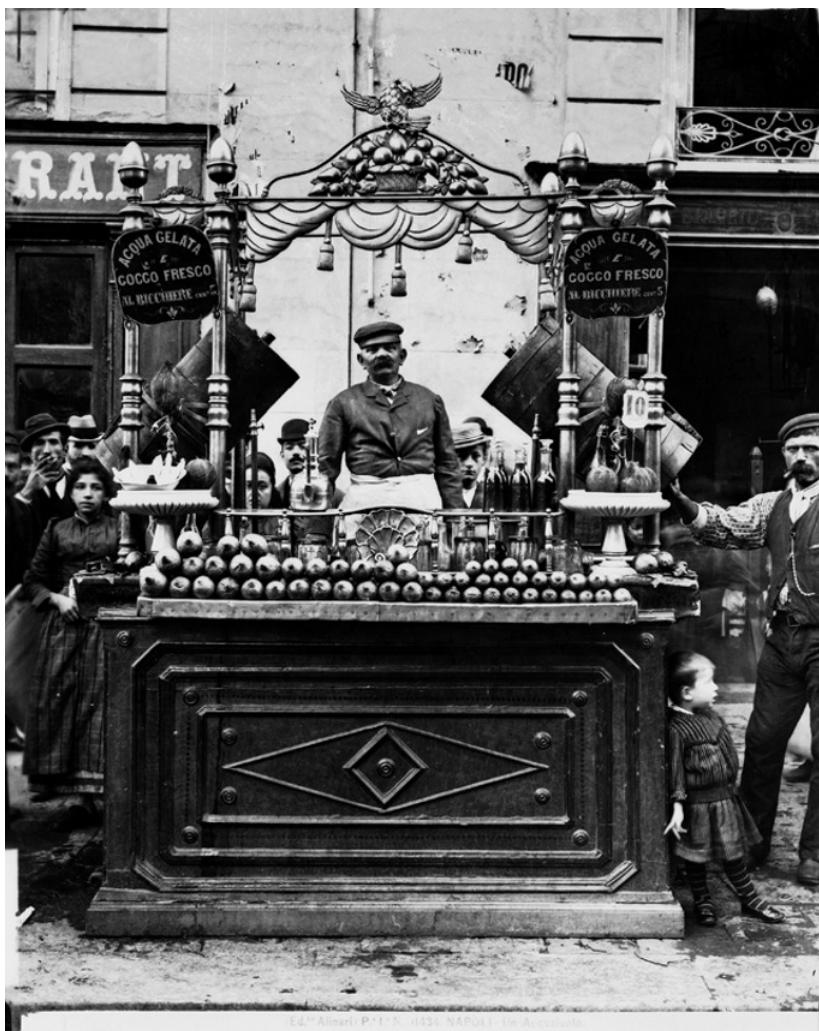
Figure 8.10. 'Chiosco di un acquaiolo a Napoli', photograph c.1890–1900, Archivi Alinari-Archivio Alinari, Florence, ACA-F-011434-0000.

'outcasts' in Britain, and documented by Karen Beall in her (almost) exhaustive display of itinerant traders within the European print tradition in *Cries and itinerant traders*. The centrality of the Mitelli engravings of the Carracci drawings remain part of the story, but scholars must take into account the equally influential costume book tradition which was also developing in Italy in precisely the same period and which reflected a

growing public for knowing and categorizing the variety of humankind. The growth of travel in the early-modern period encouraged the representation of the wider world outside of Europe as well as a curiosity about differences within it, and the representation of street-sellers also needs to be studied within this tradition. The Grand Tourists' increasing interest in popular culture by the end of the 18th century encouraged the depiction of life on the streets in (as well as countryside around) the cities of Italy. Interest in both costume and custom came together in the print and bespoke albums of Grand Tourists, and later in the picture postcard collections of 19th-century visitors to Italy. Just as travellers to Rome collected images of the city and its inhabitants, and sometimes cut them up in albums, so did the greater number of travelers to Italy in the second half of the 19th century paste *cartes-de-visite* of women and men in 'typical' occupations and 'traditional' costumes into albums.[79] Although we need to be cautious about characterising the tradition of representing street-sellers as continuous and unidirectional, these kinds of images proved to be particularly resilient in a variety of media—from Vecellio's bound volume to loose-leaf sheets by Brambilla in the 16th century to lithographs and photographs for an increasingly large public three hundred years later.[80] Images of street-sellers—as street-cries, in costume-books, and travel albums—had different publics but they all reached back to an interest in documenting the variety of humankind within city walls and without. By the end of the 19th century, these images would become part of an ethnographic vocabulary that served to reinforce perceived moral and economic differences between the north and south within Italy, as well as within Europe.[81]

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[79] On the photographic phenomenon of *cartes-de-visite*, photographs which measured 3.5 x 2.5 inches, were mounted on cardboard and featured 'celebrity portraits' as well as 'working people', see N. Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (3rd edn., New York, 1997), 62–3 and 342–4. Images of street-sellers also appeared on paper fans in this period; see, for example, the fragment of a fan in the Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli in Milan (Vent. p. 2–98), and reproduced in A. Milano & E. Villani, eds, *Museo d'arti applicate. Raccolta Bertarelli: Ventole e ventagli* (Milan, 1995), 209 n.724.

[80] On the complexities and discontinuities in the representation of street-selling in Paris from the late 18th century to the late 19th century, see Stammers, 'Myth of the belle Madeleine'.

[81] On the creation of stereotypes of southern Italy in the 19th century, see J. Dickie, *The Darkest Italy: The Nation and the Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno* (London, 1999), and N. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 2002).

PART THREE

THE DISSEMINATION OF NEWS, POLITICS,
RELIGION AND ENTERTAINMENT

THE DISSEMINATION OF QUAKER PAMPHLETS IN THE 1650S

Kate Peters

One of the more striking features of the early Quaker movement is the rapidity with which it became a national phenomenon in the early 1650s. This was due in large part to the successful dissemination of their ideas, through a combination of print, preaching and public performance.[1] Significantly, contemporaries identified Quakers (and other radical sectaries) with pedlars as agents in the unwelcome spread of dangerous ideas: in 1641, the water poet John Taylor famously denounced radical preaching as the 'prating' of 'Coblers, Tinkers [and] Pedlars'; a proclamation of 1665 sought to license pedlars explicitly to curb the dissemination of Quaker and other sectarian literature; and in 1659 one hostile observer denounced Quakers as the 'pope's very pedlars', who 'sell off his corruptest wares at stalls, which would never off in shops.'[2]

But although hostile contemporaries likened Quakers to pedlars for their role in the dissemination of subversive ideas, the relationship between Quakers and itinerant traders is more complex. Beyond their reputation as dangerous, untrustworthy, and undermining of 'honest' traders, pedlars are elusive figures, whose very itinerancy makes them difficult to trace, but whose economic and cultural importance in supplying cheap print and other luxury goods to the more humble households in England's hinterlands is becoming clear.[3] Tessa Watt's pioneering work in particular has highlighted the role of pedlars in the complex, and compelling, relationship between cheap print and popular piety in the English

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[1] K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005).

[2] M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of England* (London, 1984), 9; W. Brownsword, *The Quaker-Jesuite* (London, 1659), 12.

[3] L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe,* trans. V. Whittaker (Cambridge, 1996), 1–6; M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1981), and *Great Reclothing*; M. Frearson, 'The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s', in R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *Serials and Their Readers, 1620–1914* (Winchester, 1993), 1–25; J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Booktrade* (London, 2007), esp. 96; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 84–6.

reformation.[4] Yet although convincing on the dispersal of protestant ballads and 'penny godlies' by pedlars or chapmen, Watt also cautioned against the likelihood of pedlars dispersing the more esoteric, challenging and politically dangerous texts associated with radical religious groups like the Quakers: pedlars, after all, had literally to weigh up the contents of their packs, and were unlikely to carry goods for a market which was both clandestine and numerically insignificant, unless they had already established contacts with locals inclined to radical religious ideas.[5]

A closer examination of the dissemination of early Quaker literature in the 1650s reinforces Watt's caveat, but allows us also to probe it further. Quakers were enthusiastic champions of print who, from an early stage of the movement's history, operated impressive networks for the distribution of their pamphlets. Yet there is relatively little evidence that Quakers employed common chapmen or pedlars, and much more to suggest that Quakers exercised tight control over the distribution of their literature. Although cheap and relatively abundant, Quaker pamphlets were far from 'popular' in that their readership was carefully selected, and indeed were reviled by many as blasphemous or seditious: as we will see, many Quaker tracts sought explicitly to antagonise their audiences, and were forced upon, rather than sold to, readers. Quakers employed a variety of distributive techniques which enabled them to reach both sympathetic and hostile audiences, and these techniques were shaped primarily by the needs of a proselytising campaign rather than more common commercial strategies for the distribution of cheap print. Yet a key feature of the early Quaker movement was its itinerant preachers, who quickly established a national network of Quaker contacts. This culture of itinerancy, which relied upon the identification and use of trusted local agents, was in many ways reminiscent of itinerant trade networks, and indeed, as will be discussed, there was considerable scope for overlap between the two.

The 1640s and 1650s were a pivotal moment in the relationship between print and politics in England, as the turmoil of the civil wars and revolution found expression in unprecedented levels of printing, and in the prominence of new formats like newsbooks, pamphlets and printed petitions.[6]

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[4] T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991), and 'Piety in the pedlar's pack: continuity and change, 1578–1630', in M. Spufford, ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters 1520–1725* (Cambridge, 1995), 235–72.

[5] Watt, 'Piety in the pedlars pack', 271. Fontaine argues on the contrary that prohibited literature would have been highly profitable to pedlars: *History of Pedlars,* 43; cf J. McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 24, 27.

[6] P. Lake & S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the public sphere in early modern England', *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006), 270–92; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering* and *The*

The early Quaker movement exemplifies the relative maturity of the press in the 1650s: its main core of preachers, dubbed the 'First Publishers of Truth', exploited printed pamphlets with great efficiency from the outset.[7] In 1653 one Quaker author boasted that the pamphlets in circulation were already 'sufficient for the downfall of Antichrist's kingdom', another that books were very serviceable for 'convincing the world.'[8] A handful of pamphlets was published in 1652; by 1655, around one hundred pamphlets were published, an average of two new titles each week. These were mainly unlicensed, and printed, mostly in London, in print runs of between three and six hundred. From the mid-1650s, tens of thousands of Quaker pamphlets were circulating across England, Scotland and Wales; some of these were exported to Ireland, France, Germany and Holland, and others still further afield.[9]

Contemporaries were impressed by the scale of Quaker publishing, complaining that their pamphlets flew 'as thick as moths up and down the country'. The Presbyterian bookseller, Luke Fawne, warned that the sheer quantity of Quaker books in circulation 'argues that there are many buyers, and the many buyers argue a great infection by them.'[10] Yet Fawne may have been wrong to assume that Quaker pamphlets were widely bought and sold. Far from being routinely sold by the petty chapmen, pedlars, or booksellers who carried much cheap print from London to the provinces, many Quaker pamphlets were distributed, often for free, by the itinerant preachers who were themselves often the books' authors.

One reason for the Quakers' avoidance of common itinerant traders in the dispersal of their pamphlets was the sensitive nature of their publications, which were considered by many contemporaries to be blasphemous

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Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649 (Oxford, 1996); D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton, 2000); J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004); N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (London, 1994).

[7] Peters, *Print Culture.*

[8] Friends House Library, London: Richard Farnworth, Portfolio MS 36: 151; Thomas Aldam, A.R. Barclay Transcript 1: 71 (hereinafter A.R. Barclay Trs). All manuscripts cited in this paper are held at Friends' House Library, London.

[9] D. Runyon, 'Types of Quaker writings by year—1650–1699' in Hugh Barbour & Arthur Roberts, eds., *Early Quaker Writings 1650–1700* (Grand Rapids, 1973), 568–73, 575; R. Moore, *The Light in their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646–1666* (University Park, PA, 2000), 241, Peters, *Print Culture*, esp. 43–72. See also T. O'Malley, 'The press and Quakerism 1653–1659', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 54 (1979), 169–84; idem., 'Quaker control of publications 1672–1689', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33: 1 (1982), esp. 74; A. Lloyd, *Quaker Social History 1669–1738* (London, 1950), 147–56.

[10] F. Higginson, *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (London, 1653), sig. a2; L. Fawne, *A Second Beacon Fired* (London, 1654), 10.

or seditious. In 1654 the Council of State noted that Quaker meetings were likely to harbour people of 'notorious disaffection to the present government', and later moved to 'prevent and suppress all tumultuous meetings of persons, on pretence of Quakers or otherwise'.[11] A presbyterian minister, Edward Bowles, complained to the York assizes that the Quaker William Dewsbury was going 'to and fro in the Countrey dispersing scandalous opinions tending to the dishonor of god, and to the prejudice of the publique peace' and requested (unsuccessfully) that Dewsbury be apprehended and questioned 'for disperseing his opinions […] as a disturber of the publique peace'.[12]

Even in the context of the relative religious tolerance of the 1650s, then, Quakers were vulnerable to prosecution, and certainly believed themselves liable to surveillance. Accordingly, they conducted themselves with elaborate caution. Letters between Quaker ministers stressed the importance of both discretion and trustworthiness. It was common for correspondents to seek confirmation that letters had arrived, and to make complex arrangements for the safe dispatch of letters. Preference was expressed for using carriers rather than the post, on the grounds of security (as well as economy). When a letter arrived 'singell by itt self' with no name, and no explanation from other correspondents, the Quakers' clerk, Thomas Willan, suspected interception: 'I did threaten the post man and saide I thought it had bene inclosed [with some other letters] but he denied and said it was as it came to him.'[13] But it was not just surveillance through the postal service that was feared. The Quaker preacher William Caton declined to send a letter to a fellow Quaker by post because 'it might have come to his house in his absence and soe to his wifes hands,' and sent it instead via a friend who would deliver it in person. At the same time he used a carrier to send a different letter, with news of John Perrot's preaching before the Inquisition in Rome, so 'that friends in the North may know it.'[14]

The organisational and coercive capacities of the state in the mid-17th century were fragmentary and dependent upon informal and self-motivating networks of local office holders and their communities:

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[11] N. Penney, ed. *Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends 1654 to 1672* (London, 1913), 2.

[12] J. Storr, Portfolio Ms 36: 105. On the relative leniency of the York authorities towards the Quakers, see D. Scott, *Quakerism in York, 1650–1720* (York, 1991), 4–5.

[13] T. Willan, Swarthmore Manuscript [hereinafter Sw Mss] 1: 222; R. Farnworth, Swarthmore Transcript [hereinafter Sw Trs] 2: 43; Peters, Print culture, 60–62.

[14] W. Caton, Sw Trs 1: 386.

correspondingly, hostility to Quakers came not just from state officials, but potentially from their neighbours, family and fellow parishioners.[15] The Quakers' nuanced understanding of their need for secrecy reflects this: news of battling against the forces of the Inquisition in Rome was safe for relatively open communication via the local carrier; other information was shared only through trusted individuals. Some letters were sent by carefully selected messengers, recommended as 'pretiouse' and 'serviseable in the truth'.[16] Other letters were sent in code, or were deliberately guarded: 'For a further account of passages I Referre thee to the bearer hereof,' wrote William Caton in late 1659, at the end of a letter detailing levels of disaffection among Monck's soldiers in Scotland; 'many things I might write of but not knowing in whose handes this may come I shall therefore be spareing.'[17]

The Quakers' concern for discretion extended to the practical business of the printing and distribution of their pamphlets. In February 1654, a leading Quaker, Anthony Pearson, informed his co-religionist Edward Burrough that four manuscripts 'in my hand', had been intercepted *en route* for printing, commenting 'when I see thee again I shall tell thee what is not convenient herein to be written', and he completed the letter in code.[18] A year later the Quakers' main publisher, the bookseller Giles Calvert, came under government surveillance because of his association with the Quakers. In January 1655, Secretary John Thurloe was informed that Calvert was in Leicestershire with six Quaker leaders who were 'constantly writing'; Calvert was later reported to be on his way to London 'with two or three queere of paper written to be put into print.'[19] Later his shop in London was searched and books seized by the authorities: 'what

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[15] M. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000); K. Wrightson, 'The politics of the parish in early modern England', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox & S. Hindle, eds., *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), 10–46; M. Braddick & J. Walter, 'Grids of power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society' in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society*, ed. M. Braddick & J. Walter (Cambridge, 2001), 1–42. On local hostility to Quakers see J. Miller, '"A Suffering People": English Quakers and their neighbours c. 1650-c. 1700', *Past and Present* 188 (2005), 71–103, and B. Reay, 'Popular hostility towards Quakers in mid-seventeenth-century England', *Social History*, 5 (1980), 387–407.

[16] G. Taylor, Sw Trs 3: 505.

[17] W. Caton, Sw Trs 1: 394.

[18] A. Pearson, Sw Trs 3: 111.

[19] Cited in J. Hetet, 'The literary underground in Restoration England, 1660–1689', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1987), 130.

quantitie wee yet know not [...] but for sure this, they were of our bookes', the Quakers' accountant, George Taylor, warned in February 1655.[20] Quaker pamphlets were seized from Calvert's shop again in 1656 and he was ordered to appear before the Council of State for printing texts which were 'reflexive upon the present Government'.[21] Quakers were also arrested for distributing tracts. In 1654, the Quaker James Parnell claimed he was arrested in Cambridge for pinning up a paper which denounced magistrates and ministry; in London two Quaker women were imprisoned for 'Letting people have those books' which the Quakers had published.[22]

In Jason McElligott's recent analysis, censorship in mid-17th-century England was pragmatically targeted, flexible, and conducted beyond the bounds of the state alone.[23] Quakers were clearly conscious that overt printing and distribution of their tracts might well attract government repression, and accordingly conducted themselves with due caution. However it is important not to overstate the degree to which they were actually thwarted. Quaker pamphlets were generally published with relative ease. Over half of all extant Quaker tracts were openly published by Giles Calvert between 1652 and 1656; thereafter the majority was published either by Calvert, or by his brother-in-law, the bookseller Thomas Simmons, who published and sold books from the Quakers' meeting house, the Bull and Mouth, with relatively little intervention from governmental authorities. Calvert's bookshop, the Black Spread Eagle near St Paul's, also stocked Quaker pamphlets, and was well known as a meeting place for radicals or sectaries in London.[24] There is little evidence of systematic repression. The manuscripts which Anthony Pearson reported to have been intercepted were, eventually, published. The seizure of books in Calvert's shop in January 1655 disrupted Quaker publishing temporarily, but within weeks their pamphlets were circulating again in London.[25] And although Quakers

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[20] G. Taylor, Sw Mss 1: 214.

[21] Hetet, 'Literary underground', 130.

[22] R. Hubberthorn & J. Parnell, *The Immediate Call to the Ministry of the Gospel* (London, 1654), 10–13; Alexander Delamain, Sw Trs 4: 102.

[23] In G. Kemp & J. McElligott, eds., *Censorship and the Press, 1580–1720,* 4 vols., vol. 2 (London, 2009), xi–xxiv; also his *Royalism, Print and Censorship*, 183–224.

[24] Peters *Print Culture,* 61; Hetet, 'The literary underground'; Edward Thomas, '"A Purveyor of soul-poysons": an analysis of the career of Giles Calvert, a publisher and bookseller in mid-seventeenth century London', PhD thesis (La Trobe University, 1999).

[25] At least two of the intercepted manuscripts reported by Anthony Pearson were published by Giles Calvert: G. Fox, *A Paper Sent Forth into the World* (London, 1654); and E. Burrough, *A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow* (London, 1654), which were obtained by the bookseller George Thomason on 16 March and 15 April respectively. The impact of Calvert's arrest on Quaker book production and sales is suggested by

were arrested and imprisoned for their beliefs, there are relatively few instances of Quakers being arrested for distributing their books.[26] Quaker pamphleteering was successfully managed in the 1650s: discreet organisation and controlled distribution were an important component of this.

A second important reason for the Quakers' eschewal of itinerant traders in the dispersal of their literature lies, conversely, in the performative, oral and largely public reading of many of their pamphlets. Pamphlets were an intrinsic feature of itinerant preaching, and their public delivery underlines the blurred distinction between oral and print culture in the mid-17th century. Quaker pamphlets were frequently pinned up in market places, read aloud to soldiers and, above all, handed out and read out loud at trials of Quakers. To this end, the Quaker movement developed a fund, administered from Kendal in Westmorland, which paid for printing, postage and itinerant preaching: travelling ministers were supplied with bundles of dozens of pamphlets, money, shoes, cloaks and occasionally horses as they set off on preaching missions. Pamphlets were integral to their itinerancy. Travelling through the north of Ireland in 1655 with fifteen shillings' worth of pamphlets, the Quaker Richard Clayton described how he read a pamphlet aloud among soldiers and left a copy behind; he 'spoke through' a market place on market day and then put up a paper 'which did stay up three or four hours and many people read it'; at the next market town he put up a paper which 'did stay up most part of the day and I was moved the speake Amongest the people up and downe the market and received noe persecution.'[27] The public spectacle associated with the distribution of Quaker pamphlets suggests, not only their ephemerality, but also the significance of their public delivery. One of the earliest extant Quaker pamphlets was distributed by its authors in Yorkshire, who described, in December 1652, how they were read aloud 'in the steeple house yards, and in the markets on market days, and some souldiers is made to goe along with them and stand by them while they are reading.'[28] The presence of soldiers in their physical distribution reminds us of the ambiguities of state control of the press in the 1650s. In 1655 the Quaker Thomas Aldam described being attacked by an angry crowd of people who tried to seize the books he was handing out in Whitehall; he was rescued

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the short-term disruption suffered by Thomason, who obtained one Quaker pamphlet in January 1655 and none in February, but eighteen in March, once Calvert had resumed his trade in London.

[26] McElligott, *Censorship and the Press*, 2: 340–41.
[27] Peters, *Print Culture,* 70.
[28] R. Farnworth, Sw Trs 2: 19.

by 'Major Packer'—presumably William Packer—who reportedly told the crowd: 'whosoever doth stricke this man let him looke to be stricken; with the sword I give all warneing to let him passe quietly from you'. Packer (usually no friend to the Quakers) asked for a copy of the pamphlet, and allowed Aldam to keep the rest.[29] Quaker pamphlets were not surreptitiously distributed behind the backs of those in power.

Indeed, the public dissemination of Quaker pamphlets and papers may be incorporated into the use of gesture by which they refuted the authority of magistrates and clergy: one Quaker was imprisoned for 'throwing books' into the coaches of the magistrates in York; another book was 'caste to the clerke' of the court during a trial.[30] Much has been made of the early Quakers' use of gesture—their refusal to doff their hats or to bow publicly to their social superiors—in order to repudiate the 'worldly' authority of magistrates and clergy.[31] It has been argued that Quaker language was in itself symbolic: their refusal to swear oaths, or to use honorific language, their insistence on silence and speaking only as 'moved' by the Holy Spirit, rendered Quaker language in itself gestural.[32] While it is problematic to argue for a purely ethnographic interpretation either of language or gesture, since Quakers necessarily were part of a broader cultural paradigm, and their gestures and language were broadly imitative of earlier radical communications, it is important nevertheless to stress the significance of Quaker symbolic actions. The provocative public distribution and performance of their pamphlets, with soldiers looking on, must be understood in this context. The culture of print in the 1650s has been identified with a polemical and participatory political culture, and the Quakers' aggressive

[29] T. Aldam, Sw Mss 3: 38. For William Packer, see C.H. Firth, 'Packer, William (*fl.* 1644–1662)', rev. D.N. Farr, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*] (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21077> [21 Dec 2012]).

[30] A.R. Barclay Trs 1: 113, also 22. The judge, revealingly, waved it away on the grounds that 'hee had received divers pamphlets' from the Quakers already. See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 61, for another example of pamphlets being thrown into the King's coach.

[31] A. Davies, *The Quakers in English Society 1655–1725* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 43–63; M. Braddick, ed., *The Politics of Gesture: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford, 2009), 9–34; A. Wood, '"Poore men woll speke one daye": plebeian languages of deference and defiance in England, *c.* 1520–1640', in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850,* ed. T. Harris (Basingstoke, 2001), 67–98.

[32] R. Bauman, *Let Your Words be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (Cambridge, 1983); H. Ormsby-Lennon, 'From Shibboleth to Apocalypse: Quaker speechways during the puritan revolution', in P. Burke & R. Porter, eds., *Language, Self and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1991), 72–112.

public dispersal of their pamphlets was an important, if typically subversive, element of their participation within this.

Emphasis on the oral, performative delivery of Quaker pamphlets implies a close relationship between the authors and publishers, and understanding the nature of this relationship is fundamental to our assessment of the role played by itinerant traders in their distribution. Recent work on print culture has usefully stressed the commercial and material dimension of pamphleteering in mid-17th-century England: publishing and printing took place largely within the commercial environment of London and the Stationers' Company. Few authors wrote for profit, but even those motivated by ideology, including the impressive array of authors published by Giles Calvert, depended on largely commercial structures for the publication and distribution of their work.[33]

At an early stage in the movement's history, Quaker preachers articulated the importance of print as a tool of proselytisation. Because their pamphlets were viewed as instruments to convince the 'world and weak friends', Quaker authors initially paid for publishing costs themselves. By 1654 it was suggested that local meetings should make contributions to pay for printing, postage and itinerant preachers. By 1655 the largest of these funds, the Kendal fund, had a turnover in excess of £100; there were similar collections in Yorkshire and Durham.[34] Pamphlets were ordered and purchased wholesale from London and sent in bundles of dozens to itinerant preachers, to Quakers undergoing trials, and to local meetings. A major dynamic of Quaker book distribution, therefore, was that books were not produced to be sold retail but were funded corporately by the movement itself, and itinerant preachers undertook the distribution (including, as we shall see, the sale) of pamphlets themselves.

Quaker authors made a range of judgements in their decisions about the production and distribution of their pamphlets, suggesting a close relationship between them and their publishers. Not all pamphlets were physically handed out by itinerant preachers as has been described thus far. Large, individually bound volumes could be presented as a gift, such as a volume of tracts 'printed in the dutch tounge and bound up to gether'

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[33] A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998); J. Andersen & E. Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia, 2002); Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*; McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship*; J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Booktrade* (New Haven, 2007), 46–82; Thomas, "A Purveyor of soul-poysons".

[34] T. Willan, Sw Trs 3: 521. For the funding of the early movement see Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History 1669–1738* (London, 1950), 157–158; W. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1955), 135–7; Peters, *Print Culture*, 64–72.

presented by William Ames to the Prince Elector at Heidelberg in 1659, who 'tooke it kindly.' The former Leveller, John Lilburne, and the puritan minister of Terling in Essex, John Stalham, both familiarized themselves with Quaker ideas by reading large bound volumes of their pamphlets, presented to them at their first encounter with Quakers.[35] Conversely, other pamphlets were clearly produced for wider distribution. In July 1660 a newsbook, *Mercurius Publicus*, carried an advertisement for an anti-Quaker publication, *A book called the Fanatick History.*[36] The Quaker leader George Fox quickly alerted his co-religionists to the advertisement of 'one of the badest books that have yet been written against the truth', and within the week a sixteen-page reply was duly published by Giles Calvert. Copies were 'given abroad in Whitehall'; others 'sould in divers shopps'; and others were hawked: 'women cryes them about the streets: soe that the truth is over it.'[37] This is a rare documented instance of the use of London hawkers and booksellers, and the context is significant: a widely advertised and defamatory work was responded to in kind, even to the extent that the reply referred readers to other Quaker books available from Calvert's shop. Quakers—and their publishers—knew their market and their readership.

Quaker authors and their publishers were thus capable of a carefully nuanced approach to the production and distribution of their pamphlets, indicating a sophisticated analysis of their readerships. In 1659, the Quaker minister John Whitehead was involved in a public disputation in King's Lynn with two 'Manifesterians', Thomas Moore and John Horne—local clergymen who had already argued in print for the possibility of universal redemption, and whose universalist congregations were thus likely targets for Quaker recruitment. '[I]t came upon mee to write this short answer', Whitehead informed the Quaker leader George Fox, 'and it is upon mee that it may bee printed and 3 hundred of them sent downe Into this Countie [Lincolnshire] for it may be of true servisse.' Whitehead elaborated further on the need for his book. The Manifestarians' followers in Lincolnshire had 'been shaken with the truth' when they heard Whitehead's arguments; Horne and Moore had written their own account of the

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[35] George Rolfe, A. R. Barclay Trs 1: 55; Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 414; J. Lilburne, *The Resurrection of John Lilburne* (London, 1656), 2; J. Stalham, *Contradictions of the Quakers* (Edinburgh, 1655), 25.
[36] *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 (London, 5–12 July 1660), 457 (misp.; sig. Kkk).
[37] R. Hubberthorn, Sw Trs 2: 619; R. Blome, *The Fanatic History* (London, 1660); R. Hubberthorn, *A Short Answer to a Book Called the Fanatic History* (London, 1660).

dispute, and Whitehead was keen to have his own reply printed, so 'that it can cleare mee and the truth'.[38]

Enclosed in Whitehead's letter was another manuscript, for which Whitehead gave rather different instructions. The second work he described as a 'short paper to the rulers', which he had written the previous day, and which he wanted Quaker leaders in London to read over before submitting to the printer. The closing months of 1659 were ones of rapid political change, and Whitehead acknowledged that his work might no longer be relevant. 'If the committee of Safetie bee yet sitting,' Whitehead requested that the paper 'may speedily bee delivered to them either in writing or print, if you see meete.' Here again, the author, while deferring to the authority of Quaker leaders in London about the content of his work, expressed strong views about its distribution. While the paper could be delivered in print or manuscript to members of the Committee of Safety, John Whitehead hoped it would be printed for a wider audience; 'and if it bee printed and dispersed abroad, I desire Thomas Simmons [the Quakers' publisher] may send down a hundred of them to Martin Mason of Lincoln and signify the charge of the presse and I shall take care it shall be satisfied.'[39]

Whitehead's letter suggests a detailed knowledge of the local market for Quaker pamphlets in Lincolnshire. Three hundred copies of a book about a local disputation, and one hundred copies of a more politically ephemeral tract, indicate his confidence of a local audience keen to engage with accounts of a local religious disputation, and slightly less enthusiastic for political polemic. Significantly, Whitehead's promise to satisfy 'the charge of the press' suggests that he expected to raise the money for the pamphlets through sales to people in the local area. Beyond the public dispersal of tracts by itinerant Quaker ministers, therefore, there is evidence of a provincial Quaker market of individual readers who would buy their own pamphlets. For these, local distributors were necessary: it is unlikely that John Whitehead, zealous as he was, would seriously have contemplated

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[38] J. Whitehead, Sw Trs 3: 861; J. Horn, *A Brief Discovery of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1659), and G. Whitehead et al., *A Brief Discovery of the Dangerous Principles of John Horne* [...] *and Thomas Moore* (London, 1659); S. McIsaac Cooper, 'Horne, John (*bap.* 1616, *d.* 1676)', *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13790> [21 Dec 2012]).

[39] Whitehead, Sw Trs 3: 861. There are no pamphlets published in Whitehead's name addressing the Committee of Public Safety, but two extant Quaker tracts, by Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill respectively, did address the Committee of Safety, which might explain why it was not thought necessary to print Whitehead's. F. Howgill, *An Information, and Also Advice to the Armie* (London, 1659); E. Burrough, *A Message to the Present Rulers of England* (London, 1659).

carrying three hundred copies of a forty-page pamphlet with him as he travelled around East Anglia.[40] Whitehead's contact in Lincoln, Martin Mason, a gentleman and an author in his own right, was later named in the State Papers in 1664 as one of several known 'Dispersers of Quakers books'.[41] Other 'dispersers' named in 1664, and many more of the contacts mentioned by Quaker correspondents in the 1650s, however, were shop-keepers, merchants or other traders, and it is to the role of shopkeepers in the distribution of Quaker pamphlets that we now turn.

Within the provincial early-modern book trade, pamphlets were sold by pedlars or petty chapmen, some of whom might also keep stalls, or become shopkeepers; often, pamphlets were sold alongside other small luxury goods like lace.[42] Quakers seem to have used similar mechanisms. Early contacts in London who supplied Quaker pamphlets to the provinces (as well as the booksellers Calvert and Simmons) were active merchants, such as Robert Dring, a linen draper, who co-ordinated communications with itinerant Quakers in Ireland (and elsewhere) from his shop in Watling Street; and Gerard Roberts, a wine cooper. Provincially, trusted local shop keepers featured as essential nodes in the communications network. George Taylor, who managed the Kendal Fund, was an ironmonger to whose shop books and letters were sent. Itinerant ministers identified sympathetic shopkeepers as points of contact as they travelled into new areas. The Yorkshire Quaker Richard Hubberthorn, preaching in north Wales, asked for books and printed papers to be sent to one 'Edward More' a shopkeeper in Wrexham.[43] In January 1653 Richard Farnworth sent a parcel of books by carrier to Robert Collinson's shop in Kendal; and asked for more to be left at 'A Smiths shopp' in Ardsley near Wakefield. The Lancashire Quaker Leonard Fell similarly identified a baker, John Modock, in Coventry. And in Blackburn 'one John Robinson a shopkeeper' was

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[40] G. Whitehead, *A Brief Discovery of the Dangerous Principles* was quarto pamphlet made up of 5 sheets.

[41] *Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends 1654 to 1672*, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), 229. Martin Mason was well-educated and had already published a number of pamphlets, including disputations against an independent minister of Lincoln, George Scortreth, and a Lincoln Baptist, Jonathan Johnson: Mason, *A Check to the Loftie Linguist* (London, 1655), *The Boasting Baptist Dismounted* (London, 1656), and *Sion's Enemy Discovered* (London, 1659); R.L. Greaves, 'Mason, Martin (*fl.* 1655–1676)', *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18287> [21 Dec 2012]).

[42] J. Barnard & M. Bell, 'The English provinces', in J. Barnard & D.F. McKenzie, eds., with the assistance of M. Bell, *A History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4: *1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002), 666–8; M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 116–26; M. Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, 56–66; Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 153–8.

[43] J. Audland, A.R. Barclay Trs 1: 28; R. Hubberthorn, Sw Mss 4: 66.

recommended to Richard Farnworth as 'a pretty frend, whom thou or frends may call on'.[44] Shoemakers were especially prominent. 'Direct thy letters to be left at Richard Fryers, shoemaker, at the signe of the horse in the grass market,' instructed Caton upon his arrival in Edinburgh in 1655.[45] In Dover, the shop of a local shoemaker, Luke Howard, was identified as a suitable place to send books for distribution; Francis Howgill recommended Henry Rogers, shoemaker in Canterbury, for the same purpose.[46] Another noted that the shoemaker in Higham (Leicestershire) 'comes prettily on, and begins to wax with the world in the stirring life'.[47] Shoemakers have been traditionally associated with the propagation of radical ideas: their sedentary labour, their ubiquity in rural communities, their large clientele (including, of course, itinerant traders and preachers), and the fact that they were permitted to work on a Sunday to enable churchgoers to be shod, made their shops a focal point for discussion, and potentially an ideal outlet for the distribution of subversive religious literature; Quakers seem to have exploited their potential from an early stage.[48]

As we have seen, security and discretion were of primary importance to the organization of the early Quaker movement, and in selecting shopkeepers as recipients of pamphlets, letters or travellers, Quaker preachers unsurprisingly stressed above all their sympathetic attitudes. Yet the commercial dimension of this network must also be emphasized. The numerical significance of trade in the makeup of the early Quaker movement is well known: nearly 50% of early Essex Quakers worked as wholesalers, retailers or artisans; the same occupations constituted 34% of Monmouth Quakers.[49] Most discussion of the Quakers' social origins focuses on their relative social status, however: surprisingly little consideration has been given to the functional value of commercial relationships in the growing

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[44] Sw Mss 4: 83, Sw Mss 1: 121, Sw Mss 3: 31.

[45] W. Caton, Sw Trs 1: 358.

[46] J. Stubbs, Sw Mss 3: 151; F. Howgill, A.R. Barclay Trs 2: 170.

[47] T. Taylor, Sw Trs 3: 711. The parish of Higham adjoins that of Fenny Drayton, where George Fox was born, and Fox himself was apprenticed to a local shoemaker in nearby Mancetter in 1635, so Fox may well have known the shoemaker already. H. Larry Ingle, 'Fox, George (1624–1691)', *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10031> [21 Dec 2012]).

[48] Alison Chapman, 'Whose Saint Crispin's Day is it?: shoemaking, holiday making and the politics of memory in early modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 1469–1472; E.J. Hobsbawm & J. Wallach Scott, 'Political shoemakers', *Past and Present*, 89 (1980), 86–114.

[49] Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, 149; R.C. Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales: From Resistance to Respectability* (Cardiff, 2007), 54–5.

movement, and the likely practical importance of trading networks in the rapid establishment of a national movement.[50]

In what she described as the 'culture of itinerancy', Laurence Fontaine discussed ways in which itinerant traders had to establish and maintain the trust of the communities into which they journeyed in order to trade successfully.[51] There are obvious parallels in this with itinerant Quaker preachers, who also travelled into new areas, preaching an often controversial and challenging message, as well as distributing their pamphlets. Trading connections, Margaret Spufford has argued, may well have been an important element in establishing their presence and their trustworthiness, and the proliferation of shopkeepers in Quaker networks supports this argument.[52] Quaker pamphlets were transported with other goods, suggesting that established commercial connections were part of the spread of the early Quaker movement: consignments of Holland cloth and cotton weave were received with bundles of books from London, as well as other commodities like cabbage seed, ink horns and writing paper.[53] The linen draper Robert Dring sent a consignment of books to Ireland, along with 'some other goods made up for Waterford'.[54] The Lancashire Quaker Henry Fell, preparing in Bristol for a visit to Barbados, made elaborate plans to dispose of his goods, including more than £20 in money owed to or by various friends, a 'mare' worth forty-eight shillings, two rolls of tobacco left with William Milner at Dalton (Lancashire), and sugar and two more rolls of tobacco to be sold by John Stubb's wife (in Durham), 'which I was to have 7 shillings for.'[55] The goods themselves suggest that Fell's interest in Barbados was not purely for proselytisation, while the geographical scope of his contacts is impressive.[56] His inventory also

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[50] A. Cole, 'The social origins of the early Friends', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* 48: 3 (1957), 99–118; R. Vann, 'Quakerism and the social structure in the Interregnum', *Past and Present*, 34 (1969), 71–91; J. Hurwich, 'The social origins of the early Quakers', *Past and Present*, 48 (1970), 156–62; B. Reay, 'The social origins of early Quakerism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11 (1980), 55–72; see also E.E. Taylor, 'The first publishers of Truth: a study', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 19 (1922), 66–81.

[51] Fontaine, *History of Pedlars*, 164–182.

[52] M. Spufford, 'The pedlar, the historian and the folklorist: seventeenth century communications', *Folklore*, 105 (November 1991), 13–24, esp. 15: 'it is because the pedlars fulfilled an economic role that they became cultural mediators'.

[53] See for example Sw Mss 1: 208 ; Sw Mss 1: 214, Sw Mss 1: 215, Sw Mss 1: 238, Sw Trs 1: 151.

[54] E. Burrough, A.R. Barclay Trs 2: 110.

[55] H. Fell, Sw Mss 1: 42; C. Gill, 'Stubbs, John (*c*.1618–1675)', *ODNB* (<http://www .oxforddnb.com/view/article/69131> [21 Dec 2012]).

[56] S. Villani, 'Fell, Henry (*c*. 1630–1674x80)', *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/ article/9256> [21 Dec 2012]).

makes it clear that itinerant Quakers commanded credit relationships across wide geographical areas.[57]

Historians are increasingly aware of the social and cultural importance of credit relationships in early-modern society.[58] Itinerant traders in particular bought and sold their goods on credit and thus negotiated credit in different capacities and in different communities. Itinerant Quakers also relied on credit. Giles Calvert and Thomas Simmons supplied books to Quaker ministers and other distributors on credit, and were reimbursed by the Kendal fund or by the proceeds from the sale of the books. Travelling Quaker ministers borrowed money as they travelled, such as the Lancastrian Quakers Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse who ran up debts of over £6 in Exeter, or William Gandy of Frandley in Cheshire, who lent twenty shillings to Rebecca Ward and sought reimbursement from the Kendal fund.[59] In this context, the emphasis placed by itinerant Quaker ministers on establishing a network of trustworthy contacts suggests not only a need for discretion and security, but also an ongoing need for credit. It is more than plausible that some of this occurred as part of trading relationships, as Henry Fell's inventory implies. In his journal, written in the 1670s, George Fox reflected on the commercial success of Quakers, which he attributed to their reputation for honesty and plain dealing: far from people declining to trade with Quakers, Fox claimed that 'all the inquiry was where was a draper or shop keeper or any other tradesman that was a Quaker [...] insomuch that Friends had double the trade beyond any of their neighbours.'[60] More hostile observers accused the Quakers of favouring one another in trade to the exclusion of others.[61] Both interpretations underline the ubiquity of trading relations in the early Quaker movement.

The national communications network that characterised the early Quaker movement and its book distribution, therefore, included a number of shopkeepers and merchants. Many of these would have had links with local itinerant traders: as Margaret Spufford has shown, in the increasingly complex trading hierarchies of 17th-century England, many shopkeepers also operated as chapmen in their locality, or commissioned

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[57] Fontaine, *History of Pedlars,* 121–139.

[58] C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

[59] G. Taylor, Sw Mss 1: 219; idem, Sw Mss 1: 238.

[60] Cited in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism,* 152.

[61] Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, 85–6.

chapmen to sell their goods for them within a local beat.[62] The shop-
keeper contacts identified by Quaker ministers, in addition to their clien-
tele, would likely have links with itinerant tradesmen whom they would
trust to supply their local area with Quaker pamphlets and other goods.
The best known Quaker pedlar, Joan Dant, was a young London widow
who built up a fortune of over nine thousand pounds by peddling luxury
goods to a largely Quaker clientele which stretched from Norwich to
Amsterdam.[63] Not all, however, were so affluent. In 1654 the Quaker
preacher (and former clothier's apprentice) William Dewsbury requested
three or four dozen books for the inhabitants of Crayke, Yorkshire, enclos-
ing only a shilling in payment for them. He explained that local friends
were too poor to buy books, but would happily 'desparc them abrod' given
the opportunity. In the hinterlands of north Yorkshire, hard-up Quakers,
like their non-Quaker peers, peddled pamphlets to supplement their
income.[64]

   It is clear, then, that itinerant traders played their part in the dissemina-
tion of Quaker pamphlets, alongside postmen, carriers and itinerant
preachers. But many of the itinerant traders, as Tessa Watt speculated,
were primarily Quakers, or sympathetic to Quaker ideas: reliant on com-
merce, but who were also expressly identified by an itinerant ministry as
trustworthy local contacts who would be able to sustain links (in part
through trade) with likeminded people in their communities, who could
be relied upon to be discrete where necessary, and could target audiences
appropriately. Many of the distributive mechanisms of Quaker pamphle-
teering are reminiscent of the early-modern provincial book trade more
generally: pamphlets were purchased wholesale, and on credit, from
London publishers, and distributed flexibly according to audience demand
and government controls. That Quakers tapped into these commercial
structures with such alacrity reminds us above all of the centrality of trust-
worthiness and reputation both for commercial and political activities, of
the vitality of the mid-17th century book-trade, and of the consequent
potential for ideological vigour in the provinces.

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   [62] Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, 69, 80, 83.
   [63] P. Fleming, 'Dant, Joan (1631–1715)', *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/
article/53237> [21 Dec 2012]); Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, 48–9.
   [64] W. Dewsbury, Portfolio Ms 36: 103. C. Gill, 'Dewsbury, William (*c.* 1621–1688)', *ODNB*
(<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7581> [21 Dec 2012]). That these pamphlets
were subsidized by the Quaker movement, and may have helped to support impoverished
Quakers, interestingly anticipates early Quaker welfare provision which became estab-
lished in the 1660s; unfortunately further discussion of this is beyond the scope of this
paper.

CHAPTER TEN

INTERNATIONAL NEWS AND THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH NEWSPAPER

Joad Raymond

The Development of the Newspaper in Europe and Britain

The earliest newspaper was European in its identity. Its news spanned several European states, and it received pan-European distribution. It was written in the language of trans-European communication: Latin. *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* first appeared in 1592, initially in Cologne and subsequently in Frankfurt, and it continued to appear until 1635. It was *perhaps* the first newspaper: it appeared only twice a year, and it was, unlike later newspapers, a substantial volume (by these measures, *Relatio Historica*, first appearing in 1583, is another candidate for the first newspaper).[1] *Gallobelgicus* was, however, and importantly, both a serial and a periodical, superseding a number of irregular news publications which had appeared across Europe, in Strasbourg, Paris, Poland, Venice, Vienna, Cologne, and Hungary. The pan-European enterprise of *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was then followed by fissures, dispersal and fragmentation in the culture of printed news. Weekly newspapers appeared over following decades: the first at Strasbourg in 1605; another at Wolfenbüttel in 1609; Similar developments take place in Basel from 1610, Frankfurt and Vienna by 1615, Antwerp in 1617 or 1620 (though Abraham Verhoeven had been experimenting with serials since 1605), Hamburg and Berlin shortly afterwards, and then Amsterdam, London, Stockholm; Paris waited until 1631, though Renaudot's *Gazette* was groundbreaking in other respects. The *Gaceta de Madrid* appeared in 1661, initially annually, becoming weekly in 1667; it had, however, been preceded by periodical translations of foreign news publications, such as the *Gaceta de Roma* (1619), and by non-periodical series of news pamphlets which first appeared in Spain, as

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[1] *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* (Cologne, 1592). Later issues were printed in Frankfurt. *Gallobelgicus* is commonly accorded precedence in popular histories of the press. See also J. Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605: The origins of the newspaper in Europe', *German History*, 24 (2006), 387–412.

in Britain, in the 1590s. A daily publication appeared in Leipzig in 1650.[2] As they spread and multiplied, newspapers became local and vernacular.

How we define a newspaper is essential to the news historian's method, and ultimately shapes the stories that are told about the emergence of news media in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. The criteria commonly used among historians are: (i) regular periodicity (exact frequency of publication); (ii) seriality (several issues appearing separately, each intended to follow on from the previous); (iii) numbering; (iv) continuity in physical appearance and title; (v) a heterogeneity of news, from different sources (and under this heading we might suggest the inclusion of foreign and home news); (vi) topicality of content; and (vii) publication (i.e. making available to the public, not exclusively by printing). The rigour with which we insist on these criteria determines the timeline for the emergence of the newspaper, and the countries and regions that have a claim to precedence (and precedence still, oddly, speaks to national pride). If we insist on (i) regular periodicity, for example, Britain did not have newspapers until 1641. If we do not, and are prepared to overlook the absence of home news, then the history begins around 20 years earlier. But if we are prepared to be lax about numbering and precise continuity in title, then the first English news serial may have appeared in 1592, earlier even than in Strasbourg or Antwerp.[3]

Newspapers are also characterised by cultural associations beyond these definitional criteria, of course. *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* acquired a reputation for lying from the very first. In England—where it circulated widely amongst the educated, in Latin and translation[4]—the poet and clergyman John Donne wrote a Latin epigram mocking it. Donne concluded: 'Change thy name: thou art like / *Mercury* in stealing, but lyest like a *Greeke*.'[5] The earliest printed news periodical established a reputation

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[2] F. Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620–1642* (London, 1952); J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961); J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 98–160; J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (1996; Oxford, 2005), 1–19; H.M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science, and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France* (Princeton, NJ, 1972); R. Chartier, 'Pamphlets et gazettes', in H.-J. Martin & R. Chartier, eds., *Histoire de l'édition français*, tome 1, *Le livre conquérant* (Paris, 1982), 405–25; C.E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1666–1740* (New York, 1994).

[3] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 101–8.

[4] M.A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (Philadelphia, 1929), 310–11.

[5] J. Donne, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford, 1967), 53.

for unreliability, a presage of things to come. How did you know it was lying? Because the ink was black, in contrast to the brown ink used for manuscript news communication, which, as everyone knew, was more reliable.[6] The role of social prejudice was, as we shall see, essential to the development of the press in Britain.

  Newspapers after *Gallobelgicus* remained European in their focus and contents. This was for a number of reasons. One in particular has received emphasis among historians. Many states regarded news, especially political news, as a sensitive matter, and, precisely because they were public, newspapers were regarded with suspicion. They threatened to disrupt the conduct of politics within doors, and their strict control was therefore a matter of statecraft or *ragion di stato*. In France Louis XIII controlled the press through Cardinal Richelieu, who employed the journalist and entrepreneur Théophraste Renaudot as his master of public relations and spin.[7] The city state of Venice was founded on secrecy and the careful policing of political communication.[8] In Britain James VI and I issued proclamations seeking to outlaw or limit rumour and gossip concerning politics, while his son Charles I reluctantly allowed publications of foreign news while effectively resisting the publication of home or domestic news in print.[9]

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  [6] This tension is central to Ben Jonson's satirical play, *The Staple of News* (performed 1626, published 1631), on this, see D.F. McKenzie, '*The Staple of News* and the late plays', in W. Blissett, J. Patrick & R.W. Van Fossen, eds., *A Celebration of Ben Jonson* (Toronto, 1973), 83–128. See also M.Z. Muggli, 'Ben Jonson and the business of news', *Studies in English Literature*, 32 (1992), 323–40; M. Nevitt, 'Ben Jonson and the serial publication of news', in J. Raymond, ed., *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe* (London, 2006), 51–66.

  [7] Solomon, *Public Welfare*, 100–122; F. Dahl with F. Petibon & M. Boulet, *Les debuts de la presse Française: nouveaux aperçus*, Acta Bibliothecae Gotoburgensis, 4 (Göteburg & Paris, 1951); P.A. Knachel, *England and the Fronde: The Impact of the English Civil War and Revolution on France* (Ithaca, NY, 1967); Chartier, 'Pamphlets et gazettes'; A.-M. Chouillet & M. Fabre, 'Diffusion et réception des nouvelles et ouvrages britanniques par la presse spécialisée de langue française', in H. Bots, ed., *La diffusion et la lecture des journaux de langue Française sous L'Ancien Régime* (Amsterdam & Maarssen, 1988), 177–201; H.-J. Martin, *Le livre Français sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1987), 135; J.K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1990); B. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620–1800* (London, 1996).

  [8] F. De Vivo, *Information & Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

  [9] F. Levy, 'The decorum of news', in J. Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), 12–38; K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (London, 1992), 644–730; Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, 80–100; T. Cogswell, 'The politics of propaganda: Charles I and the people in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), 187–215; Cogswell, 'The people's love: the Duke of Buckingham and popularity', in Cogswell, R. Cust & P. Lake, eds., *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain:*

Foreign news seemed safer. Concern about the secrecy of matters of state was certainly a factor in restricting the publication of news, and one that particularly shaped the development of printed news in Britain. For much of the 17th century English news periodicals were focussed predominantly or exclusively on overseas news, and this can in part be attributed to the effects of censorship, both outright and implicit (by which I mean self-policing and the evasion of controversy by publishers, printers and authors). The role of such censorship in the free availability of overseas news, however, may have been exaggerated: as I shall argue, the breadth of this news may reflect demand by readers who were particularly interested in news of the rest of Europe. This conclusion may ask that we rethink the nature of popular culture.

It remains central to the understanding of the cultural identity of the newspaper (as distinct from the key definitional criteria outlines above), however, that it is a national form. After *Gallobelgicus*—a project that either sought to unite Europe's learned elite in a humanist republic of letters, or that recognised that Europe's learned elite formed a reading circle for whom news would logically be pan-European—newspapers fragmented into *vernacular* languages, a babelish confusion of tongues. Newspapers spoke to local readerships and local interests. They expressed pride in national achievement; they spoke to local trade interests, and to a sense of local, civic or national community. It is this very relationship to the moral and political communities of a nation that invariably shapes conceptualisations of the social and political influence of newspapers, their role in politics and formulating public opinion, and it is why newspapers are given an instrumental role in the development of national consciousness, nationalism and incipient capitalism in Benedict Anderson's influential thesis of the emergence of 'Imagined Communities'.[10]

We have a paradox then. Newspapers are thoroughly provincial in form, though frequently European in content. In this essay I explore the

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Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell (Cambridge, 2002), 211–34; Cogswell, '"Published by Authoritie": newsbooks and the Duke of Buckinghams's expedition to the Île de Ré', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 67 (2004), 1–25; C.S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001).

[10] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); J. Raymond, 'The newspaper, public opinion, and the public sphere in the seventeenth century', in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society*, 109–40; P. Lake & S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the public sphere in early modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), 270–92; P. Lake & S. Pincus, eds., *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2008); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; London, 1991).

manifestation of this paradox in England, exploring the international faces of newspapers (and the popular press more generally); our third term, 'pedlars', comes into this paradox through questions about popular audiences and distribution. Britain is a useful case for exploring the contours of this paradox for a number of reasons. First, there is its significance in the historiography of the nation state, and in the historical theses of Anderson and Habermas. While Britain may not have been at the vanguard in the emergence of the newspaper, it had for much of the 17th century a relatively free press—or at least a press that was, as we shall see, unfree in a complicated way—and an influential community of readers arguably developed there at an early stage. Secondly, the reputation of the British, or perhaps just the English, for isolationism—then as now— throws this tension between competing British and European identities into sharp relief. Thirdly, the protestant character of the press in Britain obstructed the easy movement of news and many kinds of texts between the archipelago and mainland Europe. What could be more provincial than a vernacular, protestant, popular cultural form? This is not to say that such textual transactions were not plentiful, but that news and polemic often required a process of cultural translation before it was suitable for a market on the other side of the channel.[11] Finally, in the case study of the 1650s that I present below, England found itself in a unique situation as a new government sought at once to justify its existence to a domestic audience and to establish political legitimacy amongst the largely hostile surrounding states of Europe. By exploring the tension between the competing domestic and international elements of the newspaper, I address some of the ways a fundamentally popular and vernacular form—usually treated in an insular manner and as an insular medium—crosses linguistic and geopolitical boundaries.

A Local and 'Popular' Readership?

Newspapers are national or local phenomena. Their commercial success is linked to a large, which is to say vernacular audience (the relationship of the vernacular to printed news is fundamental, yet so implicit that it sometimes eludes definitions of newspapers). Success among this audience— at least where there is competition rather than monopoly—is associated

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[11] L.F. Parmalee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY, 1996); P.J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe and the Birth of Journalism* (Pittsburgh, 2001).

with accessibility, and demotic linguistic properties. While elite news communication during the early-modern period takes place in manuscript forms, the printed newspaper is the domain of the 'popular'.

Caution must be exercised over this word, 'popular', and its use should not pass uninterrogated. Print was a luxury commodity, even at the cheaper end of the market. Cheap print was produced not by the people but by particular interest groups within the people. While many workers in the book trade came from humble backgrounds, the trade itself was a capital-intensive business. Authors from poorer backgrounds, though they proliferated in the 1640s, were exceptional.[12] Printed news and pamphlets cannot in general be said to be 'popular' in the narrower sense of speaking with the voice of the people. Moreover, given the low figures for literacy in Britain (as in Europe more generally), there is no certainty that these products spoke to the people. Perhaps it would be better to refer to 'cheap print'. However, there is another sense in which printed news and pamphlets were 'popular': from the late-16th century, the word 'popularity' developed a new meaning, referring to the deliberate use of publicity in order to shape public opinion. At this time, popularity is seen as compelling and dangerous, as churchmen court it, lawyers condemn the pursuit of it, and the king consciously and disdainfully repudiates it.[13] The emergence of this notion of 'popularity' suggests that contemporaries recognised the role of popular opinion in political processes, and they tie print to its effective cultivation. In other words, by the start of the 17th century British men and women had a means of understanding the impact of cheap print on public life, a pre-Habermasian account of the role of the public sphere. We may be unable to measure the true extent of participation, but the idea was a current one and thus, by one definition, cannot be anachronistic. Print culture can be described as 'popular' not because it is the voice of the people, nor necessarily because it was widely read among them or reflected their views, but because the people were understood to

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[12] See B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994); J.W. Martin, 'Miles Hogarde: artisan and aspiring author in sixteenth-century England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), 359–83; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 15, 56–66, 202–275 *passim*; N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven & London, 1994), *passim*.

[13] See three articles in Cogswell, Lake & Cust, eds., *Politics, Religion and Popularity*: Lake, 'Puritans, popularity and petitions: local politics in national context', 259–89; Cogswell, 'The people's love'; and Cust, 'Charles I and popularity', 235–58. Also T. Cogswell & P. Lake, 'Buckingham does the Globe: *Henry VIII* and the politics of popularity in the 1620s', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 60 (2009), 253–78, and Lake & Pincus, eds., *Politics of the Public Sphere*.

be involved in the publicity dynamic, the dynamic by which print came to play a part in public life and political processes. Hence cheap, demotic print was indeed popular.[14]

English Exceptionalism

So cheap print, newspapers and pamphlets, are closely associated with popular or common culture, rather than elite culture, this association is founded on their use of the vernacular, and this makes them an effective means of communication within national communities, and perhaps influential on forming those communities. From this we might assume that they stopped—which is to say, they ceased to exert a cultural attraction or convey a meaningful appeal, perhaps literally lost their social and semantic coherence—at political or linguistic borders. However English newspapers did not stop at language or national boundaries, and the ways in which they crossed these boundaries can tell us a great deal about the role of news in Europe and in international communication more generally. Before turning to some examples of this, however, it is necessary to establish the case for English exceptionalism. The English book trade was not typical of Europe, and this shaped the way it functioned as a means of communication.

First, centralisation. Whereas countries in the first tier of publishing output—Italy, Germany and France—and others, like England, in the second tier—the Netherlands and Spain—had multiple centres of printing, England had only one: London. Almost all English printing was undertaken there, and England was a small market compared with France, Germany, Italy and Spain. This limited the diversity possible especially in Germany or Spain, and it meant that workers in the trade—at least the booksellers, printers, and binders—knew most of the other workers in the trade.[15] Though the trade in printed news was not politically centralised, it was commercially centralised.

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[14] R. Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, 1995); M. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005). I develop this argument at greater length in Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), 4–7.

[15] A. Pettegree & M. Hall, 'The Reformation and the book: a reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), 785–808.

Secondly, commercial regulation. The book trade in England and Wales was governed by a commercial monopoly. Though the trade in books was restricted by several layers of government legislation, including a form of direct censorship in the hands of clergymen, *commercial* regulation was anterior to any political control. Rather than seeking to control the press through direct supervision, the crown outsourced the regulation of books to a trade guild. In some ways this is the most distinctive characteristic of publishing in England and Wales in the early-modern period. This trade guild, the Stationers' Company, was established in the early 15th century and given a royal charter in the mid-16th. The crown granted it monopoly rights in printing, publishing, and importing paper (there was no indigenous paper production in Britain, largely owing to the fact that clothing was made of wool rather than linen)—anyone wishing to undertake these activities had to be a member of the Company—in return for regulating apprenticeships and recording the output of presses. While the Company's discipline was less than hegemonic, it did oversee production, and in return for its financial privileges it facilitated government control over the printing press.[16]

A qualification must be inserted here: the prerogative of the Stationers' Company did not extend to Scotland, where a different legal system operated, and where printing was governed by royal patent. Printing in Scotland was limited in quantity, and highly orderly, at least until the conflict with their king—whom, after the union of the crowns in 1603, Scotland shared with England—in the late 1630s. Initially during this conflict the Scots had propaganda printed in the Low Countries and imported it; only during the conflict did the printing migrate to Edinburgh and Glasgow. Wales, on the other hand, was a dominion of the English crown, whereas Ireland was a separate jurisdiction, though one without a substantial printing industry. The dynamic of similarity and difference between the four nations, three

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[16] On the Stationers' Company, see C. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); R. Myers & M. Harris, eds., *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990* (Winchester, 1997); I.A. Gadd, '"Being like a field": corporate identity in the Stationers' Company 1557–1684', D. Phil thesis (University of Oxford, 1999); J. Raymond, 'The Stationers' Company', in D.S. Kastan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of British Literature*, 5 vols. (New York, 2006), 5: 83–91. On censorship see Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, and *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008); J. McElligott, '"Several hundred squabbling small tradesmen"? Censorship, the Stationers' Company, and the state in seventeenth-century England', in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society*, 87–104; essential documents are collected in G. Kemp & J. McElligott, eds., *Censorship and the Press, 1580–1720*, 4 vols. (London, 2009); on press-government interactions, see G. Rees & M. Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford, 2009).

kingdoms, and one king, would exert significant influence on the development of printed news in the British archipelago. Nonetheless, English exceptionalism provided a substantial basis for British exceptionalism.

The fact that the book trade was a partly self-regulating commercial monopoly meant that the state's intervention was limited. It emphasised punishment for actual ideological offences rather than prevention.[17] A handful of offenders received very public punishments for seditious libel, many of these touching upon international relations. In addition to this, parliament and its committees practiced an almost daily harassment of printers, booksellers and itinerant vendors on minor, usually non-ideological offences. Authors were less frequently the object of this kind of attention. There was no attempt to exert total ideological control: although Henry VIII may have invented the *index librorum prohibitorum* in a proclamation of 1529 (the Spanish Netherlands issued something similar the same year; the first papal index was issued by Pope Paul IV in 1559), his successors instead preferred a more piecemeal, reactive relationship with the press. Commerce and not politics governed the press.

England and Wales thus differed from the rest of Europe in the development of the book trade, and therefore print developed through different patterns and at various paces and realised different social roles in those countries. Among the effects of this exceptionalism were:

1. the market of printed news was available to a greater percentage of the population, and that percentage shared the same or similar texts; when ideological conflict broke out, competing newsbooks had a part to play in mobilizing opinion.
2. the press was unruly: there was little in the way of official 'propaganda', and while there was not a significant underground press based in Britain (dissenters instead relied on overseas printers and importing books),[18] there was a good deal of semi-regulated printing that was not aligned to government policy.
3. there was, possibly because of the profit motive, a high percentage of vernacular printing in England, in contrast to the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France. The output of the press was, in this

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[17] D. Shuger, *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 2006); P. Hamburger, 'The development of the law of Seditious Libel and the control of the press', *Stanford Law Journal*, 37 (1984–5), 661–765.

[18] A.F. Johnson, 'The exiled English church at Amsterdam and its press', *The Library*, 5th ser., 5 (1951), 219–42; K. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640* (Leiden, 1994).

respect at least, accessible to more of those commonly defined as
literate (which hangs upon the vernacular rather than Latin).[19]

Ireland and Scotland only began to develop their own printed news cul-
ture in the mid-17th century, and because of the small scale of their own
printing industries—centred in Dublin in Ireland, and on an even smaller
scale in Cork, Waterford and Kilkenny; and based in Edinburgh and
Glasgow in Scotland—the English and Welsh book trade also in large part
established the character of the book trade over the rest of the archipelago
at least until the later 17th century.[20]

Cosmopolitan News Readers?

These convergent factors might lead us to expect that the indigenous news
press in Britain was fiercely insular, expressing and feeding local interests,
except on those occasions when war dragged concerns over the channel.
This interpretation is fed by the historiographical commonplace that
English and Welsh readers were fed foreign news as a poor substitute for
domestic news. This commonplace (or prejudice) is rooted in several
factors. First, there has long been an assumption among historians that
there was an interdiction on printing home news, or at least political news,
in Britain. There is, however, no substantial evidence that this is true:
instead, not printing such news seems to have been a convention, perhaps
one widely observed through prudence.[21] Secondly, there were repeated
royal proclamations, especially in the early 17th century, against lavish
speech and discoursing of news.[22] Thirdly, when the first news serials
appeared they were almost exclusively foreign in news content. Fourthly,
when governments did begin actively to control the content of official
news publications, for example in 1655 and again in 1665, the officially-
sanctioned publications were focussed on overseas news.

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[19] Pettegree & Hall, 'Reformation and the book', 798. See also H. Brayman Hackel,
'Popular Literacy and Society', in Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 1: 76–87.

[20] R. Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland*
(Manchester and New York, 2005); Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 1, chs. 2–4, 6.

[21] Raymond, *Invention*, pp. xi–xii; S. Baron, 'The guises of dissemination in early seven-
teenth-century England: news in manuscript and print', in B. Dooley & S. Baron, eds., *The
Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2001), 42–6; Raymond, *Pamphlets
and Pamphleteering*, 130.

[22] Levy, 'The decorum of news'; Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, 58–9, 84,
177–8; J.F. Larkin & P.L. Hughes, eds. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, *Royal Proclamations
of King James I, 1603–1625* (Oxford, 1973).

However, there are other, positive reasons for a powerful appetite for European news in Britain. First, the general interest in war. This can be seen by comparing the chronology of major developments in British media with the outbreaks of war, at home and abroad. The first major shift towards publishing news in Britain occurred between 1589, when the Protestant Henry of Navarre was crowned King of France, and about 1593, when he re-converted to Catholicism; during these years London publishers issued numerous pamphlets translated from French *occasionnels*, no doubt motivated by local interest in the fortunes of Protestantism in this stage of the French wars of religion.[23] The second major shift towards publishing news, this time more sustained, began around 1618, with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Shortly after the first Dutch news-sheets appeared, London booksellers began to imitate their European counterparts, producing translations from Dutch and German accounts of the war in the Palatinate. By 1621 these had metamorphosed into serial publications, now known to British newspaper historians as 'corantos'; these were initially translations of Amsterdam prints, and subsequently written or compiled in London.[24] Hence the chronology of the emergence of the British printed news directly correlated to overseas wars in which the English had a pressing but indirect interest. The first newspapers, more narrowly defined, including British news, appeared in 1641, at the centre of the conflict that would within a year result in the outbreak of civil war.[25]

Another reason why the British read so much European news, is because of religious sympathy or empathy with, or self-interested concern for fellow Protestants, and particularly interest in the outcomes of inter-confessional conflict. In a period in which the area of Protestant Europe was shrinking, there were ways in which European news was not read as an inferior substitute for national news, or out of pride in one's broad interests, but because of a genuine concern. One example can hopefully stand for many: the Puritan woodturner Nehemiah Wallington left several volumes of manuscripts in which he describes his compulsive book purchasing and obsessive reading of news in the 1620s through the 1650s (even when he could scarce afford it). In them he expresses his fellow-feeling for Protestants, and searches modern history for examples of providence.[26]

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[23] Parmalee, *Good Newes from Fraunce*; Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets*.

[24] F. Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618–1650: A Bibliography* (The Hague, 1946), and *A Bibliography of English Corantos*.

[25] Raymond, *Invention*, 80–126.

[26] See, for example, Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 93, 116–17, and 'Irrational, impractical and unprofitable: reading the news in seventeenth-century Britain', in

David Randall has argued that while providence was integral to the language of newswriters, they did not offer providential readings of friendly defeats on the battlefield.[27] Wallington, however, introduced precisely such a providential hermeneutic to adversity. In one entry in his notebook in 1654 he writes:

> I doe see that God is now as righteous and as iust a God as euer and therefore that God will bring some heauy Iudgement or desolation vpon England if there <be not> spedy Repentance for what Sinne is wanting in any Land or Nation that God hath destroyed that doth not abound in this Land the old world Sodom & Gomora Ierusalem where is Bohemia and Pelatinate O the miserys of Germina and Ierland and what sine was in they yᵗ is not with vs [...].[28]

Wallington scanned the newspapers for foreign news because he saw that the fate of England and his own providences were entangled with that of the rest of Europe. Many British readers of newsbooks were in this sense cosmopolitan.[29]

The Internationalism of Mercurius Politicus

There are other ways in which English news publications crossed national and linguistic boundaries. In the second half of this essay I will narrow my focus to offer a case study of the internationalism of what may be the most interesting individual newspaper in early-modern Britain, *Mercurius Politicus*, edited by Marchamont Nedham. *Politicus* appeared between 1650 and 1660, the interval between the execution of Charles I and the 'Restoration' of monarchy with Charles II, an eventful decade that saw experiments with several forms of republican government, experiments with press control, colonisation in Barbados, as well as a war against the Dutch and a war with Spain. Nedham was a pioneer of journalism in Britain. During the 1640s, in Civil War Britain as in the France of the

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K. Sharpe & S. Zwicker, eds., *Writing Readers in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2002), 185–212, esp. 198, 203–5; D. Booy, ed., *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618–1654: A Selection* (Aldershot, 2007).

[27] D. Randall, 'Providence, fortune, and the experience of combat: English printed battlefield Reports, *circa* 1570–1637', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35 (2004), 1053–77.

[28] Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.436, p. 423 (2 Nov. 1654); Booy, ed., *Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington*, 332–3.

[29] Compare these geopolitical issues and publication history with R.J. Evans's provocative *Cosmopolitan Islanders: British Historians and the European Continent* (Cambridge, 2009).

Fronde, there had been an efflorescence of weekly newspapers: in addi-
tion to the sudden expansion of reporting, especially news of
parliament and battles, increasingly sophisticated means of what we
would call propaganda developed.[30] Nedham had written for both king
and parliament during the 1640s, and when he signed up to write for the
Commonwealth in 1650 he was committed to reporting reliable news,
from a diverse range of sources in Britain and across Europe, but also
interested in spreading and popularising political theory. Some of his
early editorials contained, without acknowledgement, excerpts from
Niccolò Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, at a time when this author's name was a
byword for self-interest and unethical conduct (though this was changing
in the mid-17th century).

   Nedham was employed to generate support for the new regime which
had replaced the monarchy. He was appointed by the Council of State,
which served the parliament and, with the parliament, formed one of the
two arms of government. His office was at Whitehall, near the centre of
power. His immediate overseer was initially Walter Frost, secretary to the
Council, and in this position he had access to official government papers;
in addition he received some documents from Thomas Scot, who man-
aged the intelligence service for the Commonwealth. Scot complained
that one of his intelligencers, at 'Dantzig' (modern Gdansk), was unable to
supply him with anything other than 'common newes from Swede, Poland,
& Muscovia and fitt to helpe to fill the Gazette', which in a backhanded
way compliments the richness of the material in *Politicus* in this period.[31]
At the same time Nedham began to develop his own list of correspon-
dents, extending those supplied from above. John Thurloe replaced Frost
as secretary to the Council in March 1652, and received the additional
post of director of the intelligence service in July 1653, replacing Scot.[32]
In this double role he became Nedham's immediate, and apparently active
supervisor, and provided him with privileged access to both official
and secret documents. Nedham thereby had access to the reports of the
Commonwealth's spy network. I doubt that any journalist before him,
even Renaudot, had access to so rich a supply of intelligence.

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[30] Knachel, *England and the Fronde*; Smith, *Literature and Revolution*.
[31] Quoted C.H. Firth, 'Thomas Scot's account of his actions as an intelligencer during
the Commonwealth', *English Historical Review*, 12 (1897), 116–126, at 122.
[32] For an overview of Thurloe's career, and his foreign intelligence networks, see
P. Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe: Cromwell's Secretary of State, 1652–1660* (London, 1990); on
his sources, see p. 43; also S.C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the
Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996), 58 and *passim*.

The arrangement also meant that the government could keep a close eye on Nedham's work; in early 1651 it appointed John Milton as an official licenser of the newspaper, which he undertook for about a year.[33] *Mercurius Politicus* was an official state publication—the word propaganda may not be helpful—and Nedham received a salary for his efforts. Notwithstanding this, *Politicus* did not receive a state subsidy, and turned a significant commercial profit. Payments made to the spymaster John Thurloe may be a share of the profits, or may specifically be for services rendered by Thurloe's well-resourced intelligencers. The ambassador Sir Samuel Morland was apparently awarded a share of its profits, also in the later 1650s. Morland (who was very diligent at claiming back expenses from the government, including charitable donations to the poor) would later complain that he had not received sufficient share, detailing his understanding of the journal's profits.[34]

Politicus was a *popular* journal in both senses of the word: it was used in the cultivation of popularity, but was also in demand among the public. There is more direct evidence—in correspondence and other specific evidence—for readers and reading of this than of any other British news publication in the period. *Politicus* therefore made available to a wide readership—a local popular readership and a more worldly and educated international readership—the news-gathering resources of the English state; it provided them with a means of conceiving a pan-European world view.[35] These two dimensions of *Politicus* can be illuminated by an examination of the documents that passed through Thurloe's office.

The diplomat and scholar John Pell was in and around Switzerland on government business throughout much of the 1650s, and his letterbooks testify to his reading foreign newsbooks (his languages included Aramaic, Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch and German). He frequently complained

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[33] On 17 March 1651 Milton entered issues dating back to January in the Stationers' Register; he probably continued through January 1652. D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, 7 vols., rev. edn. (London, 1875–94), 4: 325–35; W.R. Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2 vols., vol. 2 rev. by G. Campbell (1968; Oxford, 1996), 1: 394, 2: 993–4 n.150; S.B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge, 1999), ch. 6.

[34] Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. A.60, ff. 474 (n.d., prob. after 31 Aug. 1658), 488; T. Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* [hereafter *CSPJT*], 7 vols. (London, 1742), 7: 470–1. See also Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe*, 121–2; J. Peacey, 'Cromwellian England: a propaganda state?', *History*, 91.302 (2006), 176–99, at 196. On Morland's expenses: Bodleian, MS Rawl. A. 48, ff. 177–8.

[35] See Raymond, 'Irrational, impractical and unprofitable'; also '"A Mercury with a Winged Conscience": Marchamont Nedham, monopoly and censorship', *Media History*, 4 (1998), 7–18, and *Invention*, ch. 5. I will present more evidence in my forthcoming edition of Milton's defences.

of the errors of the French 'Gazettier', including his evidently false claim to have an active correspondent in London.[36] He compares other printed news unfavourably to *Politicus*. One letter to Mr Hummel at Bern merits quoting at length:

> This [from] Lausanna I would have sent a shorter way, but that I beleeved you would be willing to read the inclosed London-prints. Which when you have done, I pray you seale them up and send y^m as soone as you can. Unlesse you first thinke fit to shew them some-body in Berne, that will be at the cost to have them sent weekly, rather than be cousened with what some ill-willed & miss-informed Parisian sends your Gazetier & he prints it. Gallus mulget hircum, vester supponit cribrum. He might have better information out of these nouvelles ordinaires de Londres, being for ye most part mere translations of the English Mercurius Politicus. But the translator, being a French-man, may now & then miss-take; because he doth not fully understand the names of Offices & some of our termes of Law, which sometimes he meets withal in Politicus. Though, living in London, he hath better opportunity to enquire the sense of a new word, than the Parisians can have. [...] And many other grosse miss-takes, concerning England, I find in some of those written papers, which are sent hither weekly from the Newes-mongers and Newes-makers of Paris.[37]

Many other examples could be adduced from Pell's correspondence: he acted as a distribution point among English exiles but also the Swiss, passing on British printed news, pointing out to his correspondents the shortcomings of foreign-language publications, and trying to persuade them to read London news.[38] During the 1655 massacre of Piedmontese, extensive reports were published in *Politicus* based on his newsletters, written in French and Latin, to Thurloe and Nedham.[39]

Several correspondents writing to or from France compare French and English printed news. My sources here are mainly Anglophone, but their praise of *Politicus* for its reliability and coverage is not entirely without basis. Several correspondents write to Thurloe complaining of the unreliability of the French *Gazette*.[40] The English court in exile in Paris read *Politicus*, one royalist, Walter Vane, observing in 1653 that 'there is nothing of any note but you will find itt in *Politicus*.' Even Charles Stuart read the

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[36] B[ritish] L[ibrary], Lansdowne 753, f. 116^r·v.

[37] BL, Lansdowne 753, ff.117^v-118^r. *Nouvelles ordinaries de Londres* was a London-printed French language newspaper.

[38] BL, Lansdowne 748, ff.46^v, 68^v, and *passim*; Peacey, 'Cromwellian England', 196.

[39] See Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe*, 57–61; J. Raymond, 'The Daily Muse; or, seventeenth-century poets read the news', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 189–218, and the references therein.

[40] *CSPJT*, 1: 525.

republican newspaper.[41] Edward Nicholas wrote to the Earl of Norwich in 1651 recommending *Politicus* and adding 'observe how soon those in England have all the news of the Louvre'.[42] One letter from Paris wrote that Nedham or Thurloe should have made sure that *Politicus* had printed a recent parliamentary act, 'albeit it should have taken up some pages of your weekly news; it would be truly of great efficacy.'[43] An opportunity for positive publicity in the exiled court has been missed, clearly suggesting that *Politicus* had a specific role to play in Paris. Another letter from Paris describes French readers trying to understand the Commonwealth's foreign policy towards Spain by reading *Politicus*. Among these, no doubt, was the Pope's nuncio who complained, Thurloe heard, about unfavourable reporting against his master in the French gazette in 1655.[44] In return the French ambassador at London read both the English and French newsbooks, writing facetiously to a correspondent at Bologne (presumably Boulogne-sur-mer), 'If the pamphlets both of Paris and London may be credited, my negotiation is already concluded'; he then admits that they were almost right.[45] There is other evidence of French Parisians reading *Politicus*.[46] French attitudes to Cromwell were not uncomplicated, as a report Thurloe received in 1655 reveals: 'By the way I heard of a pleasant story of a picture set to sale on Pont-neuf, wherein the lord protector was sitting on a close-stool at his business, and the king of Spain on the one side, and the king of France on the other, offering him paper to wipe his breech. But there was great offence taken at it, and the pictures were taken away.'[47]

Politicus was also read in the Netherlands, by both the Dutch and English. A correspondent somewhere in the Netherlands wrote to Mr Adrian Peters at London (presumably a Dutchman), complaining: 'All books that are printed in this city are first overseene by Censores appointed by the supreme Magistrate. The last weeke I gave them occasion to take notice that the newes of Collen [Cologne], concerning England, is often false. This weeke therefore they sent me word, that if

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[41] *CSPJT*, 1: 240. See also *CSPJT*, 2: 319; *The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State*, vol. 1: *1641–1652*, ed. G.F. Warner, Camden Society, n.s. 40 (1886), 190.

[42] Warner, ed., *Nicholas Papers*, 225.

[43] *CSPJT*, 1: 587.

[44] *CSPJT*, 2: 159, 3: 48.

[45] *CSPJT*, 3: 155.

[46] *CSPJT*, 2: 147, 159, 210.

[47] *CSPJT*, 3: 658.

I desired it, henceforth the Printer of newes should leave out all that was written from Collen concerning England. I answered, that they might do well so to doe, yet some would dislike such omissions, till I or some other had taken a course that they might here receive truer intelligence by London-letters.' His source was probably *Politicus*. Mr Peters replied: 'I make no question but the Letters & Gazets of Paris, Orleans & Lyon will outdoe Collen and Constance for false reports of English newes.'[48] Another Dutch letter expresses doubts about the reliability of local news concerning international affairs, and asks for 'the phamphlet', presumably *Politicus*, to confirm matters.[49] It is not always possible to be certain that a reference to 'the pamphlet' or 'diurnall' in correspondence is to *Politicus*; unusual independent confirmation appears in one letter from Thurloe to Pell. Thurloe writes, 'Wee have lately had let*ters* from Jamaica, the truth of what they conteyne, you will finde in the enclose print'. On the letter a very faint impression of the top half of a title page of *Mercurius Politicus* is visible, folded and mirrored around the horizontal axis—so the newsbook was folded twice and wrapped up in the letter.[50]

   The same week that the Dutch ambassadors in England wrote to the States General on what the English pamphlets were reporting (a letter that Thurloe evidently read before it went on), a letter of intelligence from The Hague expressed doubts about the veracity of Dutch pamphlets of news. There was a multi-way trade between Maastricht, Breda, The Hague, Amsterdam and London; correspondents sent *Politicus* and Dutch newsbooks back and forth.[51] Royalists in Holland read both English and Dutch diurnals and pamphlets, and reported back on what they had read.[52] These exchanges were not always straightforward or direct. A 1653 letter of intelligence from Maastricht to an unknown destination, probably London, enclosed a 'Courant of the 16th of August' containing 'the substance of all our letters relating to the last fight,' and requesting: 'Send the French gazettes with *politicus* weekly'. He expresses concern that he has to pay excessively for the delivery, and wonders if they would be better coming through Antwerp (he also notes that the post is censored: 'I find (*frank*) writ upon them,, but blotted out before they come to my hands').[53]

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[48] BL, Add. MS 4365, ff. 140, 179.

[49] *CSPJT*, 3: 114.

[50] BL, Lansdowne MS 753, f. 6ʳ·ᵛ.

[51] *CSPJT*, 2: 191 193; 3: 114.

[52] O. Ogle, W.H. Bliss, W.D. Macray & F.J. Routledge, eds., *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1872–1970), 3: 117; *CSPJT*, 2: 319.

[53] *CSPJT*, 1: 421.

The French gazettes would arrive in the hands of one London reader via Brussels.[54] I will return to this theme of irregular geography: centres of news were often triangulated in this way.[55] One newsletter from The Hague noted that the locals were complaining that the English pamphlets were sympathetic with the actions of Hamburg, while The Hague and Hamburg were locked in dispute; later, Thurloe would be receiving a 'weekly paper' of news from Hamburg from the ambassador Sir Samuel Morland (whom he would later advise that all of the news he had had been printed in *Politicus*).[56] One correspondent wrote in 1658 that 'for the news of the Hamburg exchange, Mr Nedham hath it as perfectly every week, as I can give it you'.[57]

One reader thought that the outspokenness of *Politicus* might trouble Britain's international negotiations. In April 1655 John Dury, the Commonwealth diplomat, wrote to Samuel Hartlib (who had also contributed materials to *Politicus*) from Zurich, complaining about a report from Hamburg:

> I pray salute Mr Needham from me, & intreat him in case any extracts bee communicated to him from Germanie or any other parts which have any spitefull or contemptible expressions of any Germane Princes that hee would favour us so much who are abroad as not to insert them: in his last [no. 251] there was page. 5243. these *puffing German Princes*. this can do our cause no good; but may do harme, if not to the Cause it self, yet to some that may bee instrumentall in it, & hinder some good inclinations wherunto they happily might bee brought.

Nonetheless the newsbook provided news from other parts of Europe that Dury found interesting or useful: 'under the same title viz. from Hamburg. March 20, there is mention made of an envoyè from the Prince of Transylvania going for England, I pray learne out who hee is […]'.[58]

Let me pause for a moment to think about other possible implications of these various readers' comments. The complaints addressed to Thurloe about the contents of *Politicus* imply that the spymaster had responsibility for censoring the content of the newsbook, and there is a sense in which *Politicus* was an official mouthpiece and an organ of state propaganda.

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[54] *CSPJT*, 2: 425, 525.

[55] A phenomenon that John Kerrigan identifies happening within the British archipelago, with respect to politics, literature and identity: *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603–1707* (Oxford, 2009).

[56] *CSPJT*, 1: 550–1; 2: 600; BL, Lansdowne MS 753, f. 78r.

[57] *CSPJT*, 7: 37.

[58] Hartlib MSS 4/3/95A; I am grateful to David Norbrook for this reference.

In 1655 Nedham was involved in committee discussions that resulted in the introduction of more aggressive and effective censorship—not through new legislation but through the enforcement of existing legislation. The orders specified that no one should print or publish 'pamphlets, books of news' without authorisation, and demanded the enforcement of a 1643 act 'forbidding the crying and hawking in the streets of pamphlets, books, or papers' and required that offenders were arrested, sent to Bridewell, and received 'corporal and pecuniary punishments'. Thereafter Nedham enjoyed a monopoly, and, while he thought that positive persuasion was more important than censorship in the cultivation of public sympathies—and this was his declared intention in *Mercurius Politicus*—some of his paymasters thought otherwise.[59] These facts may imply a less positive account of the internationalism of *Politicus* than I have suggested above. However, the same complaints to Thurloe that Nedham needed reining in also imply the opposite—that Nedham was insufficiently controlled.[60] Moreover various statements in correspondence—not only in Thurloe's mailbag—that the writer could supply no news beyond that printed in *Politicus* ('there is nothing of any note but you will find itt in *Politicus*'), intimate that while Nedham was spinning things, he was not hiding them.[61] The move to prohibit the printing of news in 1655 was interpreted by some as 'a sure sign that [Cromwell's] affairs at home and abroad go not well', which may help explain why both Commonwealth and Protectorate neglected to control hostile publications.[62] The image of invulnerability was important to the regime.

We find similar geographical dynamics of news gathering and distribution in Italy and Germany. Charles Longland, Thurloe's agent at Leghorn (modern Livorno, on the western coast in Tuscany), sends Thurloe news of how Roman newsbooks are reporting news of England.[63] An Englishman at Cologne requests copies of 'the diurnalls' once they have been read; and a reader in Vienna writes to Thurloe saying that he doubted the news from London, because the London news he received from Cologne was so

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[59] Raymond, 'Nedham, monopoly and censorship'; D.F. McKenzie & M. Bell, eds., *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641–1700*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2005), 1: 365–76; though see Peacey, 'Cromwellian England'. For Nedham's intentions: J. Milton French, ed., *The Life Records of John Milton*, vol. 2. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1950), 310–11; and *Mercurius Politicus*, 1 (6–13 June 1650).
[60] Peacey, 'Cromwellian England', 197–8.
[61] *CSPJT*, 1: 240; Peacey, 'Cromwellian England', 198.
[62] McKenzie & Bell, eds., *Chronology and Calendar*, 1: 377.
[63] *CSPJT*, 2: 410, 719.

contrary.[64] Richard Bradshaw, deputy of the Company of Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg, and a *de facto* Commonwealth diplomat, sends Nedham news for inclusion in *Politicus*.[65] There seems to be little evidence, at least in Thurloe's papers, of the dynamic interchange of news with Spain, though Spanish affairs are printed in *Politicus*. It may be that all Spanish news arrived via a longer chain of communication—probably via Brussels—and that few in Spain found cause to read *Politicus*, or British news from Britain, or that if they did it was via Ireland and a more confessionally sympathetic channel.

However, what these few examples suggest is intensive transactions and translation. *Politicus* reached an international readership, both British and non-British. These readers compared it critically with other sources. They imported and exported news and newspapers. Moreover, this international impact of *Politicus*, and the presence of international news, available to all its readers, elite and popular, shows that the British newspaper was not a local phenomenon. Though a popular format and though written in vernacular (and vernacular in an era when Britain's second language was Latin, the language of pan-European communication), *Politicus* crossed linguistic and national boundaries. Any account of the 17th-century British newspaper as a local phenomenon is insufficient.

Conclusions: Popular Print in Europe?

This conclusion can be teased out a little further. The very life of printed news across the British archipelago and mainland Europe was embedded in trade and communication routes, from shipping, through postal services and carriers, to hawkers and pedlars. Printed news facilitates the exploitation of trade routes—merchants eagerly sought news of war, and mercantile communities soon learned of the advantages of reliable printed news and price lists—and print followed those same trade routes in networks between the major trading and printing cities. Printed items existed in relation to a network, and that network provided the economic basis of the production and distribution of print, but also gave it its meaning and its social life.

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[64] *CSPJT*, 2: 675, 2:724.
[65] *CSPJT*, 4: 23; see also Bodleian Library, MS Rawl A. 29, pp. 428, 506–9, 601–4; and S. Barber, 'Richard Bradshaw' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Print offered alternatives to older forms of communication, but also developed alongside and transformed them. It needs to be understood as part of a much richer set of interpersonal connections than printer-bookseller-reader, as part of a communicative landscape that extends beyond the domestic and urban into the transnational, but which none-theless shapes the experience of the local. Hence any narrative of the growth in the book trade and the emergence of new news forms in the early-modern period needs to be superimposed on a map, conceptual or literal, of the major distribution networks for early-modern books, from the wholesale publisher down to the pedlar, ideally one that takes into account speed of movement and chronological development.[66] This is not to mention the additional, complex dimension of intelligence networks, of the kind that Thurloe cultivated and Nicole Greenspan has described, that shape the production, distribution and reception of news.[67] This map would show the paths that books followed, and the speeds at which they travelled. Individual books initially followed convenient trade networks. But then the book trade, and news networks, developed around particular channels, and so geography became embedded in production, and in peo-ple's sense of the communities in which they belonged, and their position within Europe. The map would show, for example, how news travelled more swiftly from southern Italy to Madrid via Brussels than via Naples, an apparently more direct route.[68] These networks, however, cross language barriers; one characteristic of popular print may be a specific expression of monolingualism, and so for popular culture there are important bound-aries and limits to movement. Nonetheless, book culture, even in its monoglot variety, is never purely national, as domestic markets and industry are shaped by international transactions. Such considerations

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[66] See P. Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in Raymond, ed., *News Networks*, 19–34, and *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Roman Catholicism* (Leuven, 2004), 67–77, 105–121; the essays by J.D. Noci and C. Espejo in R. Chartier & C. Espejo, eds., *La aparición del periodismo en Europa: Comunicación y propaganda en el Barroco* (Madrid, 2012); B. Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2010).

[67] N. Greenspan, 'News, intelligence, and espionage at the exiled court in Cologne: the case of Henry Manning', in Raymond, ed., *News Networks*, 103–123.

[68] Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers', 21–2; De Vivo, 'Paolo Sarpi and the uses of information in seventeenth-century Venice', in Raymond, ed., *News Networks*, 35–49; W.S. Powell, ed. *John Pory, 1572–1636: The Life and Writings of a Man of Many Parts. Letters and Other Minor Writings* (Chapel Hill, 1977); J.W. Koopmans, ed., *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, 2005).

need to be thought of not as contexts for print but as integral to what the thing itself was, and what it meant.[69]

However, the international transactions of these expressions of national culture suggest ways in which the life of popular culture extended between peoples divided by monolingualism. Analyses of international cultural exchange focus on learned or elite culture. The movement of books occurs, in these accounts, between scholars or tradesmen serving scholars, and not among the common people who are, if literate, monoglot. The international exchange of ideas and arguments occurs in Latin and within the humanist republic of letters.[70] In addition to this highly literate (in the traditional sense of that phrase: lettered in Latin) exchange of words, cross-cultural exchange occurs in consumer-oriented manufactures and art.[71] There is a dynamic interchange in the cultural field of the printed image: in England, for example, Dutch and especially German engravings and woodcuts are imported and copied, and profoundly influence the printed visual culture.[72] The international aspects of the British newspapers suggest an additional dimension to these cultural transactions, and an under-acknowledged aspect of popular culture: popular culture straddled political and linguistic boundaries.[73]

This is further testified to in two stories in the popular press, the co-existence of which has puzzled me for some years. Roger Chartier has analysed the transmission of the story of Anne de Grez, condemned for infanticide near Rennes in 1588, whose story is told in an *occasionel*—she was hanged for infanticide but miraculously survived to testify to her innocence. The story fits into a typology of miraculous survivals in medieval France, exploring and affirming a providential world view. Nonetheless, it is strange to read an almost identical story, reported in *Mercurius Politicus* and various news pamphlets, of the similarly named Anne Green, who was hanged for infanticide but miraculously survived to testify to her

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[69] This argument is made in my introduction to Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1, and also more expansively in the volume as a whole.

[70] Rees & Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture*, 190–241, 244.

[71] L. Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London, 2008); L. Jardine & J. Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca, NY, 2000).

[72] M. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven & London, 2010).

[73] Customs and rituals in popular culture extended over Europe: P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978; Aldershot, 1988); N.Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975).

innocence in Oxford in 1650.[74] Within a country and a language such acts of recycling—or of complementary elite and popular explorations of a similar event, within a partially-shared set of values and understandings— are not uncommon.[75] In the context of learned print, we might explain this in terms of reading, interpretation and translation. However, within cheap print, and inhabiting popular cultures that should be quite distinct, with different social norms, mores, values, religions and languages, the stories require further explanation and exploration. The coincidence looks like an act of inter-cultural recycling, though there is ample evidence that the story as told in the English press is factual in detail. The stories certainly point to the way moralistic narrative patterns are replicated in adjacent cultures. However, it may also be the case that popular culture more generally looked outward. Could it be that, even in a damp backwater like England, the centripetal forces of national identity and the centrifugal forces of European identity exerted themselves on individuals well down the social hierarchy?[76]

[74] J. Raymond, ed., *Making The News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641–1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1993), 182–4; W. Burdet, *A Wonder of Wonders* (1651); *A Declaration from Oxford* (1651); [R. Watkins?], *Newes from the Dead* (1651); R. Chartier, 'The hanged woman miraculously saved: an *occasionnel*', in Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1989), 59–91; A. Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. A. Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891–1900), 1: 165, 169–70.

[75] O. Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1990); M. Thøfner, 'The Netherlands', in Raymond, ed., *Popular Print Culture*, 1: 194–202.

[76] In addition to Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, see J.R. Chávez, *Beyond Nations: Evolving Homelands in the North Atlantic World, 1400–2000* (Cambridge, 2009).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

STOREHOUSES OF NEWS: THE MEANING OF EARLY MODERN NEWS PERIODICALS IN WESTERN EUROPE*

Joop W. Koopmans

Over the course of the early-modern era, several new categories of printed news media appeared, such as news reports, pamphlets, newspapers and also engravings incorporating references to recent happenings. A specific category in the expanded early-modern dissemination of news was the periodical with news summaries that appeared on a regular basis; it was a printed work with a publication frequency ranging from about once a month to once every one or two years, far less frequent than newspapers, which had at least one or a few editions per week. By the end of the 16th century literate people could already buy and read printed news periodicals in several parts of Europe, of which the so-called German *Messrelationen* and the Latin *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* are a few early examples. In the subsequent centuries these surveys would have many successors in mainly Western Europe.

Their initial purpose of news dissemination having been achieved, the early-modern news periodicals became a welcome source for historians. Scholars consulted them frequently as reference works, looking for certain facts and figures or old documents, the originals of which were kept in faraway or inaccessible archives. However, they did not start systematically studying the serial news periodicals as a specific medium with its own characteristics as they did with the early-modern newspapers in the 19th century—at least not in a comparative way with international dimensions. This lack of interest in early-modern news periodicals has continued more or less to the present day. News digests seem to have fallen between the cracks. On the one hand they were not considered a very exciting phenomenon by the media historians who advanced a discourse of increasing communication speed with regard to the new media.[1]

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[1] See, e.g., A. Briggs & P. Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*, 2nd edition (Cambridge & Malden, 2005).

In such a narrative early-modern newspapers and pamphlets were far easier to locate than infrequently published news periodicals. On the other hand news periodicals were not very interesting for historiographers either, because the genre could not compete with well-wrought contemporary chronicles, which usually had far more professional content. To put it colloquially, in that narrative news periodicals would have been neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring.

The resulting lack of knowledge about early-modern news periodicals becomes clear in current historiography, in which news periodicals are not mentioned at all or are incorrectly described. For example, in the recent synthetic study of Dutch culture in European perspective, *1650: Hard-Won Unity* [*1650: Bevochten eendracht*] the authors quote the 17th-century Dutch news annual *Hollandsche Mercurius* several times to explain and illustrate a variety of developments and changes. Although this title was a yearbook with far more pages than a newspaper, they incorrectly label it a monthly newssheet while also counting it among the newspapers.[2]

In this paper, I will attempt to rescue early-modern news periodicals from oblivion, presenting them as a separate medium with distinct characteristics, and to start a discussion about their contemporary significance. It is my intention to deal with several questions about this category's characteristics, in order to get a better impression of its role. How did news periodicals function within the range of early-modern media? What intentions did their makers have in mind when they started publishing them? How did they produce and distribute them, and what, additionally, may be said about their audience? Furthermore, what connections, similarities and differences can be discovered between early-modern news periodicals from several European countries?

The paper begins with a concise section about the genre's name: should we speak about newsbooks, mercuries, periodicals, magazines or (bi)annuals? The next section includes a few striking examples of early-modern news periodicals, in order to get a better idea of the genre's evolution and spread across Western Europe since the 16th century. The final section deals with the purpose and role of the news periodicals, in combination with their content, production and audience. Can we consider them as products of the popular press? Some of the news periodicals also presented sensational or satirical stories, while other titles included

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2 W. Frijhoff & M. Spies, *1650: Hard-won Unity* (Assen, 2004), 17, 69, 261, 429.

scientific news, or, as in the case of the *Mercure de France* that was launched in 1672, literary and fashion topics.[3] This paper will not discuss those categories, only the periodicals with an emphasis on reporting political, military and societal news that was presented in systematic prose.

The Genre's Name

Thus far I have referred to the genre as 'news periodicals' or 'news digests'. There is, however, much confusion about the genre's name. In Dutch historical literature the word *nieuwsboek* is sometimes used to specify the genre. This word indicates the category of early-modern printed news collections well, because those collections had the same form as the printed material which we nowadays consider to be books. While editions of early-modern newspapers were usually just one or a few loose folio sheets, most of the less frequently published news surveys consisted of dozens or hundreds of pages, most of them in quarto, with well-structured contents, indices and sometimes appendices.

Nonetheless, the designation 'mercuries' has hitherto been more common in historiography.[4] This can be explained by the fact that many issues carried the name Mercury or Mercurius—the messenger of the Roman gods—in their titles. The term 'mercuries,' however, is an unclear genre indication, because many newspapers also had the name Mercury in their titles, as for example John Berkenhead's royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* that originated during the Civil Wars in Britain, or Anders Bording's Danish monthly newspaper *Den Danske Mercurius* (1666–77), which was written in Alexandrine verse.[5] Therefore *mercuur* is not to be preferred to the term *nieuwsboek*.

For British scholars, however, the term 'newsbook' might be confusing, because it has another or broader meaning. Traditionally the term is applied to 17th-century quarto-format newspapers which were published

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[3] The female-orientated *Mercure de France* started under the titles *Mercure Galant* and *Nouveau Mercure Galant* and was founded by the French author Jean Donneau de Visé. See, e.g., the second and third chapters of J.E. DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour* (New York, 2005); *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, vol. 2, ed. J. Sgard (Paris, 1991), 846–9, 854–6.

[4] See, e.g., R. van Vliet, '"Hij is als een tweede Proteus die alderhande gedaenten aenneemt": Kranten en mercuriale geschriften in de 17de en het begin van de 18de eeuw', *Proteus: Bulletin van de Vereniging voor Leidse renaissancisten*, 8 (1992), 1–9.

[5] See the reissue *Den Danske Mercurius*, ed. P. Ries (Copenhagen, 1984).

at least once a week.[6] The English scholar Robert Burton, for example, used the term in his *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, in which he wrote in 1622 of 'News books every day, pamphlets, corantos, [and] stories,' all culturally rich terms, of which contemporaries will have understood the distinctions.[7] Within this context the 'newsbooks' were definitively not the same as the monthlies or (bi)annuals discussed in this paper. Perhaps it would be better to consider those newsbooks as 'serialized pamphlets,' since they had the same format as many pamphlets. In any event, for international use the terms 'news periodical' and 'news digest' may be preferable to 'newsbook,' moreover because not only the words but also the objects varied from culture to culture.

Nor has the term 'periodical' gone unquestioned. In his study on the French press during the Enlightenment, Jack Censer defines the periodical as 'a printed publication available on announced dates, at least once a trimester, designed to serve a broad, at least regional, reading public'. Furthermore the periodical should include something that the audience would have seen as 'current news'. Otherwise, it would be 'a volume in a series'.[8] Although the latter criterion does not pose a real problem for the category discussed here, the former does, in that many news digests were published less frequently than once a trimester. Furthermore, announced dates were not realized in many cases for a variety of reasons such as illnesses of publishers or editors, and censorship or other restrictive measures taken by authorities. Several editors even delayed their publications deliberately, believing that such a timespan between event and description promoted comprehensiveness and professional distance. The editor of the Dutch *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, for instance, announced this notion in the introduction to his first volume in 1766.

To overcome Censer's definition problem for the category here involved, another possibility in discussing news media with a publishing frequency

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6 Revealing are, e.g., J. Raymond's title *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (1996; Oxford, 2005), and J. Schleck's one '"Fair and balanced" news from the continent: English newsbook readers and the Thirty Years War', *Prose Studies*, 29 (2007), 323–35.

7 Quoted in E. Cecconi, 'Comparing seventeenth-century news broadsides and occasional news pamphlets: Interrelatedness in news reporting', in A.H. Junker, ed., *Early Modern English News Discourse* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2009), 137–57, at 137.

8 J.R. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (London & New York, 1994), 1. There are other definitions and approaches, of course. Raymond (*The Invention of the Newspaper*, 7), e.g., uses the word 'news periodicals' for irregular appearing titles, such as Abraham Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tydinghe* from Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands.

lower than once a trimester might be to speak about 'news series' or 'news volumes.' Yet we can also ignore Censer's frequency criterion and consider all such recurrent publications, with news—regardless of the publishing interval—as 'news periodicals,' which I will do in this paper.

From Messrelationen to Mercuries and Yearbooks

The German *Messrelationen* are considered the first printed periodicals with news items on the European continent. They commenced during the 1580s, appeared predominantly at the trade fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, and contained news items—copied from written newsletters—and documents about the most important events since the previous trade fair. The founding father of the German *Messrelationen* was Michael Freiherr von Aitzing. For the autumn 1583 Frankfurt Trade Fair he published the *Relatio historica*,[9] with news in German about religious conflicts. After a few irregular issues he published one or two numbers each year from 1588 until his death in 1598, in later years covering news across Europe. In the meantime similar titles appeared, not only in Frankfurt but also in other German cities such as Strasbourg and Cologne.[10] In 1597 Samuel Dilbaum's *Historische Erzählung* seemed to be a next step in presenting news on a regular basis, because it was a monthly publication.[11] Yet Dilbaum published only twelve issues in Rorschach am Bodensee. By contrast, many *Messrelationen* enjoyed a long life, which may be confirmed by the fact that the Frankfurt series remained in print as late as 1806. This also shows that the printed newspapers, of which the first was launched in 1605, did not oust them from circulation.[12] A reason for this might be that the *Messrelationen* were perceived to explain the news in a

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[9] Many *Messrelationen*'s titles were in Latin, albeit with German explanations about the content on the title pages.

[10] K. Bender, 'Die deutschen Meßrelationen von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjähriges Krieges', in *Presse und Geschichte* vol. 2, *Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung*, eds. E. Blühm & H. Gebhardt (Munich etc., 1987), 61–70; idem, *Relationes Historicae: Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin & New York, 1994), vii–viii.

[11] A. Würgler, *Medien in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 2009), 34, 104.

[12] On the first printed newspaper in Europe, in Strasbourg, see M. Welke, 'Johan Carolus und der Beginn der periodischen Tagespresse: Versuch, einen Irrweg der Forschung zu korrigieren', in M. Welke & J. Wilke, eds., *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (Bremen, 2008), 9–122. The first irregular printed news periodical in France was *Le Mercure français* (1613–1648). *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, 867–9.

more coherent way than newspapermen could, because newspapers could present the news only in small portions, and rarely knew the outcome.[13]

Among Von Aitzing's contemporaries was the Dutch Catholic author Michael von Isselt. Living in exile in Cologne, he started his *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* in 1592, a periodical that he and a few successors would publish throughout the first decades of the 17th century. The most salient difference from the *Messrelationen* was that the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was published in Latin—just as the *Mercurius Austro-Bohemo-Germanicus* of the German Michael Caspar Lundorp. We may presume that the authors of these Latin publications wished to have an international audience. In any event, it is known that copies of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* arrived in several European corners, even reaching as far as England. The content, however, had a character similar to that of the *Messrelationen*'s, with stories about politics, wars and other topical subjects. A variety of competing periodicals with almost the same title suggest the idea that the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was a desirable medium.[14]

Like the German *Messrelationen*, however, most of the news digests were written in the vernacular as for example the German *Europäischer Mercurius oder Götter-Both* (1689–90) and the French *Le Mercure François* (1611–48) or the *Mercure Historique et Politique* (1686–1782)—which was, although published in the Dutch Republic, meant for the French market.[15] In England John Philips (1631–1706), John Milton's nephew, initiated the translation of the *Mercure Historique et Politique* as *The Present State of Europe; or, the Historical and Political Monthly Mercury* (1690–1736).[16]

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[13] Bender, *Relationes Historicae*, viii–xi.

[14] W.F. de Jonge, 'De Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus 1592–1625: Eene bibliografisch-historische studie', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* 3rd series 8 (1894), 71–170; C.J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (New York & Oxford, 1996), 20, is one of the authors who wrongly mention 1594 as the start of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*.

[15] In 1749 the States of Holland briefly censored the *Mercure Historique et Politique,* published in The Hague, because the editor Jean Rousset de Missy had included offensive news about a French minister: *Resolutien van de Staten van Holland ende West-Vriesland* (1702), 518–19 (9 Dec.); W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden: Beredeneerde catalogus* (The Hague, 1914), 78 (no. 261); *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, 870–78. More about Rousset de Missy: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck & J. Vercruysse, *Le métier de journaliste au dix-huitième siècle: Correspondence entre Prosper Marchand, Jean Rousset de Missy et Lambert Ignace Douxfils* (Oxford, 1993), 8–13.

[16] Another translation bore the title *The Present State of Europe; or, The Monthly Account of all Occurrences, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military*. Cf. A. Pailler, 'Edward Cave et le *Gentleman's magazine* (1731–1954)', vol. 1, PhD thesis (Université Paris Diderot—Paris 7, 1975), 40.

Making translations was another way to introduce the vernacular in the news industry.

The *Europäischer Mercurius oder Götter-Both* did not exist for long because it was censored in Nuremberg, accused of slandering the German scholar Samuel von Pufendorf and his brother.[17] In this respect the *Europäischer Mercurius* was not representative of its genre, because the *Messrelationen* as well as several other news digests existed for decades, or even longer. This information demonstrates that it was an attractive enterprise to publish and distribute them, at least from a commercial point of view.

The first 'storehouse of news' in Dutch was the previously mentioned *Hollandsche Mercurius*. This news digest started in 1651, about three decades after the initial printing of the first Dutch newspapers.[18] The *Hollandsche Mercurius* was published in Haarlem by Pieter Casteleyn (*c.* 1618–76), and from 1678 by his younger brother Abraham Casteleyn (*c.* 1628–81). After Abraham's demise his wife Margaretha van Bancken (†1692 or 1693) continued the publication until 1691. The Casteleyn family covered European news during a period in which, following the Peace of Westphalia that ended the long Thirty Years' War in the centre of Europe, Dutch attention was directed chiefly at England and France. Significant was the title's increase in pages. While the first volume consisted of 63 pages in quarto, the last had 349—with an average across all volumes of about 200.

In 1660 Pieter Casteleyn supplemented his tenth volume with a sort of conclusion about the life of England's King Charles II,[19] which indicates his interest in the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Due to the publisher's complaint of illegal reprints, by 1668 the Haarlem city government had provided him with a fifteen-year printing privilege for his annual. This shows his success and implicates that other publishers tried to get a piece of the pie. After Pieter's demise 11,000 reprints of old volumes and 2,200 new copies of probably the newest volume were found in his store, another indication of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*' success.

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[17] J. Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen, 1994), 125–38.

[18] The first Dutch printed newspaper probably started in 1618. See J.W. Koopmans, '"Unverschämte und Ärgernis erregende Nachrichten verboten": Politische Einmischung in niederländische Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Welke & Wilke, eds., *400 Jahre Zeitung*, 123–38, at 124–5.

[19] The Dutch title: 'De conclusie van den Hollandtsche Mercurius, bestaende in de wonderlijcke avonturen van Carolus II Koningh van Engeland, Vrankrijck, Schotlant en Yrlant etc.'

From 1656, Abraham Casteleyn also published the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (Sincere Haarlem Newspaper; this title since 1664), one of the Dutch newspapers that would be read far beyond the Dutch borders. We may assume that Abraham derived many of the news summaries in the *Hollandsche Mercurius* from his own newspaper. Both Casteleyns have also used Amsterdam and foreign newspapers for this, most likely in addition to correspondents and occasional news suppliers.[20]

Between 1673 and 1686 the Amsterdam publishers Henri and Theodore Boom—and from volume nine Theodore's widow—published a French translation of the *Hollandsche Mercurius* under the title *Le Mercure Hollandois*, after they had printed illegal copies of the Dutch version (see Figure 11.1). Because the Amsterdam publishers became the official sellers of the Dutch original in their city, we may presume that the Casteleyns in Haarlem would have given them permission for the French version.[21] In most French volumes the Booms included new prefaces, in which they—or their translator(s)—addressed their international and specifically French audience. The octavo format that was chosen for the French edition must have been commercially more viable for the foreign market, perhaps because it was cheaper to transport and easier to bring into France, particularly during wartime. The Booms enriched their translations with new title prints and several other prints. Their thirteen French volumes would cover the happenings of the period 1672–84.[22] The first six years corresponded with the *Guerre d'Hollande* (1672–78) between the Dutch Republic and France. We may conclude that publishing a French version of the *Hollandsche Mercurius* from 1673 was an attempt to withstand Louis XIV's propaganda machine, in which all war news was coloured in the king's favour.[23] It is revealing that in France at the time the title 'Le Mercure hollandois' was used for a series with subtitles such as 'contenant les avantages que nostre invincible monarque Louis XIV. toujours august a

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[20] G. Verhoeven & S. van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius. Een Haarlems jaarboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem, 2011), 21–89. Encyclopedic information about the *Hollandsche Mercurius* will also be published in my entry in *Encyclopedie van Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften voor 1850*, ed. R. van Vliet e.a. (forthcoming, see <http://ent1815.wordpress.com/> [21 January 2013]).

[21] The Casteleyns mention them in their announcements of new *Hollandsche Mercurius* volumes in the Haarlem newspaper. The Booms also published the 1677 and 1678 volumes in German as *Neuer Mercurius, oder Schau-Bühne von Europa*.

[22] P. van Eeghen (in collaboration with J. Ph. van der Kellen), *Het werk van Jan en Casper Luyken*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1905), 17; *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, 882.

[23] See for example P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992).

Figure 11.1. Title page of *Le Mercure Hollandois* of 1676, printed in 1678, with Mercury in the clouds and Stadtholder William III on horseback; William's coat of arms belonging to his title of Prince of Orange-Nassau is visible below. University Library Groningen.

remportez'.[24] In any event, it is typical that the French translation of the Dutch version stopped after 1686. Perhaps the project was no longer profitable after the war. Furthermore, it was at this time, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), that French Huguenots fled to the Dutch Republic, where they began to take over a part of the printed information stream directed towards France.

During the subsequent war between the Dutch Republic and France, in 1690, the Amsterdam publisher Timotheus ten Hoorn started the *Europische Mercurius*, first as a quarterly and several years later as a semi-annual (see Figure 11.2). In his preface the first editor explained that covering news about the wars of the French King Louis XIV against the Dutch Republic was the main reason for the start of his news digest. Although it was not his intention to push the *Hollandsche Mercurius* out of the Dutch market, this is what actually happened, probably not only because of the higher publishing frequency of the *Europische Mercurius* but also because the new title presented far more pages, without using old-fashioned Gothic type. The editor reintroduced the classification of the news in monthly segments as had been practice in Pieter Casteleyn's volumes of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*.[25]

A partial description of the *Europische Mercurius*' first volume might give more insight in the material. After the four-page preface addressed 'to the reader' (a section that did not appear in subsequent volumes) the editor opened with news under the heading 'January', followed by one superficial paragraph about the European state of affairs. All news reports were presented under geographical headings, an arrangement also common in newspapers. The editor started with more than 16 pages of news from 'England', followed by 21 pages concerning 'Germany,' 14 from 'Italy,' followed by two from 'Venice', almost five about 'Switzerland,' 12 from 'France', two concerning the city of Algiers, also two from 'Turkey,' almost three about 'Spain', one from the so-called 'Northern Empires' (Scandinavia), and finally more than five pages about the 'Netherlands'. It will be clear that the number of pages dedicated to a country and the countries' order

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[24] The (first) subtitle of the Dutch version was neutral: 'Contenant les choses les plus remarquable de toute la Terre. Arrivées en l'an 1672. jusqu'à l'an 1673. Et sur tout dans les guerres de France, Angleterre, & Hollande.'

[25] From 1718 the *Europische Mercurius* had also a section called 'Bijzonderheden' (Curiosities), in which the editor included, e.g., news about disasters, natural phenomena and bizarre occurrences. J.W. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 23 (2000), 117–133.

varied from volume to volume, as a result of the news supply and the editor's preferences.

In almost all sections the reader could find specific documents between the news summaries, immediately visible because they were printed in a

Figure 11.2. Two pages of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1695; on the left a proclamation of William III of Orange as King of England about the payment of the troops and news about his departure to the Netherlands on 22 June. The illustration on the right shows sketches of two medals in honour of William III, the first from England and the second made in Austria. Above obverse: Britannia in front of an altar with Horace's words 'o serves animae dimidium mea' (save this half of my soul) and 'Britannia supplex 1695' (Britannia praying 1695) and above reverse: 'prealucet quator una' (she spreads her light above all four [kingdoms: England, Scotland, France and Ireland]; below obverse: Jupiter with lightning in his hand ('Jovi tonanti': To the lightning Jupiter) and the texts 'Guilelmo III D.G.M. Britanniae regi' (To William III King of Great Britain by the grace of God) and 'vangionum nemetumque urbes ulciscitur Anglius, disce timere graves nunc Ludovice vices' (the Englishman takes revenge of the Palatinate cities, Louis may expect heavy action) and below reverse: several burning sea cities with the texts 'aspicit accensas, nec tantos sustinet aestus' (He sees them in fire, and cannot bear the heat) and 'vibrata in maritimas Galliae urbes fulmina 1694' (the lightning bolts thrown to the cities of France 1694). University Library Groningen.

smaller font size. The January news from England includes, for example, an eyewitness account about a London pageant in favour of King William and Queen Mary, a merchants' request to the king, and a story about a fight between an English ship and a French privateer. Such documents must have had the function not only to clarify the corresponding news but also to convince the reader that certain facts really had happened or were agreed. In the Algerian section for example, the editor included the articles of a peace treaty between France and Algiers. In most cases the editor presented only documents in Dutch translations. In this month the exception was a papal document, of which the original Latin text was printed in italics first, followed by the Dutch translation.

The last volume of the *Europische Mercurius* was published about 1756, surviving several other Dutch titles that had been launched around 1700, such as *De Nederlandsche (maandelykse) postryder* (*c.* 1701–55). A successful successor was the *Maandelijkse Nederlandse Mercurius*, which was published monthly between 1756 and 1806.[26] A few years earlier a new type of news digest had started: the *Nederlandse Jaarboeken* (1747–65). This yearbook was almost exclusively focused on domestic news and documents, in a loyal and neutral way. Its successor, the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* (1766–98), also commenced with publishing the same type of neutral news, faithful to the era's Dutch Stadtholder William V and Orangist regents. A few provisional samples, however, demonstrate that the publishers moved carefully in the direction of the Patriots—the political faction that struggled against the stadtholder and the Orangists during the 1780s—yet without becoming so provocative that they were censored after the Orangist restoration of 1787.[27] Both yearbooks confirm the idea of an expanding public sphere during the 18th century.[28] Yet they can also be considered as signs that the authorities no longer resisted the publication of news about domestic politics.

Some scholars argue that another new type of periodical replaced traditional Dutch news digests during the second half of the 18th century: the

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[26] See N. van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius en de Maandelijkse Nederlandse Mercurius: De evolutie van een periodieke kroniek tot 'de' Mercurius', *Ex tempore*, 15 (1996), 211–35, at 222–35.

[27] The *Nieuwe Nederlandse Jaarboeken* ended with news about 1798. See R. van Vliet's entries on these yearbooks in *Encyclopedie van Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften voor 1850*, ed. R. van Vliet e.a. (forthcoming).

[28] On the J. Habermas debate, e.g., Briggs & Burke, *A Social History of the Media*, 61–87; J. Bloemendal & A. van Dixhoorn, '"De scharpheit van een gladde tong": Literaire teksten en publieke opinievorming in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 125 (2010), 3–28.

political periodical that included firm political ideals and ideas and far more comment on the news and criticism of the authorities than before, including also many letters from critical readers.[29] It is certainly true that during this period the new genre of political magazines, such as the Patriot-affiliated *De Post van den Neder-Rhijn* (1781–87) and *De Politieke Kruyer* (1782–87), came into being. Yet just as with the emergence of regularly printed newspapers, the existing genre of news periodicals did not disappear—while by contrast Patriot-affiliated magazines were censored following the restoration of 1787.[30]

In England original long-running news periodicals, such as the *Hollandsche* and *Europische Mercurius*, did not exist before the 18th century. The first comparable titles were published in the 1730s: Edward Cave's Tory-based *Gentleman's Magazine or Trader's Monthly Intelligencer* (1731–1907) and its rival, the *London Magazine or Gentlemen's Monthly Intelligencer* (1732–85). Cave included, among many other things, unbiased reports about Britain's parliamentary debates. He succeeded in distributing his magazine throughout the whole English-speaking world.[31] It is interesting to observe that Cave and the *London Magazine*'s publishers—it was an initiative of four booksellers—used the word 'magazine' for their periodicals, which was a creative way to demonstrate that they were 'storehouses' or 'repositories' of new information, just like the other news periodicals mentioned here.

Closer to early Dutch news periodicals was the—still existing!—*Annual Register*, as the Scottish author and publisher Robert Chambers pointed out as early as 1864.[32] Starting in 1758, its first publishers were James and Robert Dodsley, while the well-known author and politician Edmund Burke was the first anonymous editor. Its original subtitle, 'A view of the History, Politicks and Literature of the Year', announced and explained the content to the potential readers of the *Annual Register* more extensively. This English yearbook started in the middle of the Seven Years' War, and thus during a period in which many topical news items could be covered. It is not surprising that the first volume became in demand, because it

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[29] E.g. Van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius', 222.

[30] See, e.g., P.J.H.M. Theeuwen, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post van den Neder-Rhijn (1781–1787). Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de Nederlandse geschiedenis in het laatste kwart van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 2002); P. van Wissing ed., *Stookschriften. Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen, 2008).

[31] More on these two magazines and a few forerunners in, e.g., Pailler, *Edward Cave*.

[32] See his impression of early-modern news media in his *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities*, vol. 1 (London & Edinburgh, 1864), 76.

contained an extensive report about the origins and development of the ongoing war.[33]

It seems clear that other parts of Europe were rather late in publishing news periodicals. The first Spanish title, for example, was Salvador José Mañer's 1738 *Mercurio Histórico y Político*, a news digest that would exist until 1830. Its content, however, was not original, but a translation and a partial adaptation of the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, which was published in The Hague at the time by the well-known French-Dutch author Jean Rousset de Missy. Until 1740 Mañer also published a Spanish version of Rousset de Missy's periodical *État politique de l'Europe*.[34] Mañer was not unique in translating French-Dutch works, as English—see above—German and Italian translations of the *Mercure Historique et Politique* had preceded his title.[35] We may wonder whether or not Mañer had received permission for his translations from Rousset de Missy. Another interesting question is what more these translations can teach us about the distribution and diffusion of printed news in Europe.

Purpose, Meaning, Audience and Editors of News Periodicals

Why, commercial incentives aside, were news periodicals produced and distributed in the early-modern period? Considering their content, the most important aim must have been the coherent and regular presentation and preservation of information about important and interesting topics in Europe—and later also about the rest of the world—for contemporary and later generations. As has been explained, the digests presented facts, figures and related documents about a certain time-period with some explanation and comment.

One can find evidence for the genre's main goal in news periodicals' prefaces. The *Hollandsche Mercurius*, for instance, was meant 'as a tool for the citizens to remember their own times, being a witness of the world's changeability for future generations'.[36] This emphasis on news changeability may possibly be compared with the contemporary popularity of

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[33] Unfortunately I could not consult T.O. McLoughlin, *Edmund Burke and the First Ten Years of the Annual Register 1758–1767* (Salisbury, 1975).

[34] S. van der Veen, *Een Spaanse Groninger in Marokko. De levens van Johan Willem Ripperda (1682–1737)* (Amsterdam, 2007), 15, 532.

[35] The concept of the *Mercure Historique et Politique* was also copied in Switzerland and Sweden. Würgler, *Medien in der frühen Neuzeit*, 45–6.

[36] *Hollandsche Mercurius*, 2 (1652), 'Voor-reden'.

still lifes in the Dutch Republic—as a way to capture and preserve a moment within the mutable world. The *Annual Register*'s purpose was— as summarized by Edmund Burke's biographer F.P. Lock—'to provide information and entertainment for a middle range of readers, those who without aspiring to "solid erudition" were nevertheless desirous of keeping up with the topics of the day'.[37] In other words, the *Annual Register* enabled those not centrally involved in politics and news-making to participate in their society's public debates.

The role of news periodicals can be best assessed when we compare them with newspapers. The facts and figures in the news periodicals concerned largely the same topics as had been published in newspapers before. In the news periodicals, however, they were presented in a more interrelated way and with more persuasive authority, or at least with less doubt about their accuracy and veracity than in the newspapers and their forerunners, and in comparison with newspapers, more documents and (parts of) pamphlets were included in the news digests. This was possible for the simple reason that editors of news periodicals had more time to produce their issues than newspapermen had. News periodical editors also had more opportunities to reconstruct the way things had happened and more time to insert commentary. They could neglect news items from newspapers which were later proven false rumours. Moreover, they could combine and select news items from a broader array of sources available at the time when they were editing, such as more newspapers from abroad, and could then weigh their veracity more precisely. For all these reasons the news digests must have enjoyed higher prestige than volatile newspapers.

Furthermore, news periodicals were definitely not disposable articles as newspapers were. Many titles were sold as, or became, bound into books after a few issues, often stored in annual volumes. The average number of pages, mostly in quarto, of the *Messrelationen* was already about 100 and each half-year issue of the Dutch *Europische Mercurius* consisted of at least 300 pages, also in quarto.[38] Its bibliophile value is emphasized by the fact that copies of this news digest are still present in many libraries all over the world.[39] This is also the case with many other news periodicals,

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[37] F.P. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, vol. 1, *1730–1784* (Oxford, 1998), 167.
[38] Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws', 118, 122.
[39] Outside main libraries in the Netherlands and its neighbouring countries, *Europische Mercurius* copies can also be found in, e.g., the University Library of Michigan and the New York Public Library, the Russian State Archives of Early Acts (thanks to Ingrid Maier), the National Library of South Africa and the Nagasaki Historical Museum. Although it is

while, by contrast, many early-modern newspaper series are incomplete and difficult to retrieve.

The presence of prints in early-modern news periodicals was another aspect that made them more interesting and valuable than the contemporary newspapers, in which prints were technologically impossible to include, because their production time was too short to allow for this. Consequently, the news items in news periodicals could be illuminated with portraits, city views and plans, maps, battle plans, coins and medals et cetera, thus offering readers a more visual experience of corresponding news items. Many news periodicals opened with fine title prints referring to the following news and some of them also had corresponding explanations in rhyme.[40]

The audience and possible use of news periodicals may also clarify their meaning, with the *Europische Mercurius* again providing a good example. In 1730 its publisher Maria Lijbreghts, the widow of the bookseller Johannes Ratelband, addressed herself to the potential readers of her periodical, which she thought would be 'ministers of state, ambassadors, residents, agents and other high government personnel' and also the merchants of the Dutch Republic.[41] It is rather difficult to demonstrate this with much evidence—perhaps it was the audience the publisher wished to have instead of the real audience[42]—yet catalogues and other trace evidence from members of the Dutch elite confirm the idea that news periodicals were a desired press product meant for the higher classes. It is known, for example, that the *Europische Mercurius* was stored in the library of the judicial Court of Friesland (Hof van Friesland), and thus in an environment of jurists who were members of the Frisian elite.[43]

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difficult to find out how and when all those libraries came into possession of their copies, one may assume that in several cases issues were already in the libraries' surroundings during the 18th century.

[40] See, e.g., J.W. Koopmans, 'Politics in title prints: examples from the Dutch news book *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', in M. Gosman & J.W. Koopmans, eds., *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, 2007) 135–49.

[41] *Europische Mercurius* (1730) I, 'De Drukster deezes Aan Haare Landsgenooten' [The printer from this work to her compatriots] (unpaginated).

[42] Supposed by Van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius', 220–1. She considers this 'propaganda', a way to give the work higher prestige. She thinks that the potential readers were not very erudite people, because all Latin quotes were translated and many topics were extensively explained. This may be true, but I think that many regents and merchants will have welcomed those translations and explanations too. The invocation of regents could, of course, grant a work more authority, in that the reader might assume the editors obtained news from such sources.

[43] Today stored in the Frisian Historical and Literary Centre 'Tresoar' in Leeuwarden, The Netherlands.

Furthermore, both Dutch politician Nicolaas Witsen and his friend Andries Winius, who lived in Russia at the time of Tsar Peter the Great, possessed copies of the *Europische Mercurius*.[44] Series of such news periodicals may have been helpful reference works for them and for other established people staying in areas where it was difficult to check news from previous years. The published news periodicals could be part of the luggage they brought to other countries, asking relatives or friends living in their native country to send on new issues. This can be perfectly illustrated with a letter from the Dutch Protestant minister Anthonius Scherius who in November 1672 wrote to the Dutch military commander Coenraed Bredenbach in the Cape Colony about the war in his country. Scherius wound up with the significant remark that Bredenbach could read soon all details in the following [*Hollandsche*] *Mercurius* volume, which he expected would be delivered by various people.[45]

Moreover, news periodicals—and it should be admitted, newspapers as well—have been important sources for foreign princes, courts and authorities to find out what reports about their own countries were published abroad, and what in such reports the prevailing images and judgments about their countries were. In France, for example, Abbé Jean Bignon, who worked for the French Direction de la Librairie, collected issues of the Dutch *Europische Mercurius*. It is very likely that he did this in order to check news about France that was published in the Dutch Republic. After all, the Direction de la Librairie not only organized permissions for publications in France but was responsible for censorship too.[46] It was such institutions' duty and obligation to prevent or avoid negative publicity about their sovereign, and they had to inform the court when offensive articles had been published abroad.

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[44] M. Peters, 'From the study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717): his life with books and manuscripts', *Lias: Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, 21 (1994), 1–47, at 7–10; I. Wladimiroff, 'Andries Winius and Nicolaas Witsen: Tsar Peter's Dutch connection', in C. Horstmeier et al., eds., *Around Peter the Great: three centuries Russian-Dutch relations* (Groningen, 1997), 5–23, at 20. Andries Andriesz Winius, a son of the Dutch merchant Andries Deonysz Winius, was probably born in Russia. He translated Dutch newspapers for the Tsar. I. Maier, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse couranten vertaald voor de tsaar', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 12 (2009), 27–49, at 30, 35.

[45] This letter is one of the about 38,000 confiscated letters that were taken as loot by privateers and confiscated by the High Court of Admiralty during the wars fought between the Republic and England, now in The National Archives, London (High Court of Admiralty, 30–228, 4 Nov. 1672). I owe this reference to Judith Brouwer who is writing a PhD about the 1672 letters.

[46] I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725*, vol. 1: *Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn copieboek* (Amsterdam, 1960), 54, 63–4, 147.

News digests were also useful for later generations. This can be demonstrated by the fact that even decades later, publishers sold complete series to younger generations or helped customers to find missing issues. In 1710, for instance, the Delft bookseller Johannes Speyers sold complete series of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*, almost twenty years after the last issue had been published.[47] Of course, for those customers the news periodicals were recent history. In this respect, however, it will be clear that news periodicals could only compete with newspapers at the very moment of their publication, and even then only to a small extent. Nonetheless, we should not forget that today's 'death of distance'[48] was far from realized in the early-modern period, given that the news travelled at the same speed as the available means of transport. In other words, it took weeks before news from far away could be published in newspapers and news periodicals. A semi-annual news periodical in Western Europe about the first half of the year and ready for sale in August could contain the same June news from the Ottoman Empire as a newspaper carried in August, because in many cases the news from the Ottomans took more than a month to reach its publication destination.[49] All other news from closer regions in such semi-annual news periodicals was, of course, less topical than the news printed in newspapers issued two to three times a week.

Another similarity between news periodicals and newspapers was that their editors were unknown to most readers, since only the publishers' names were invariably mentioned on the title pages. The editors of the *Messrelationen* still considered themselves anonymous chroniclers. Most did not mention their real names on the title pages, or at most supplied an alias or initials.[50] This practice did not change in the following centuries

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[47] See, for example, the advertisements in the *Europische Mercurius* and also advertisements in Dutch newspapers for this news periodical and the *Hollandsche Mercurius*. Thanks to Hannie van Goinga who presented me several advertisements in the Haarlem newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, for instance those of Speyers from 2 and 23 Jan. 1710. Cf. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, 1: 178, who writes about several reprints of early volumes to provide complete sets.

[48] The communication speed of radio, television, Internet and the mobile phone inspired the British scholar Frances Cairncross to the concept of the 'death of distance'. See also J.J. McCusker, 'The demise of distance: the business press and the origins of the information revolution in the early modern Atlantic world', *American Historical Review*, 110 (2005), 295–321, at 296.

[49] On this topic, e.g., J.W. Koopmans, 'Supply and speed of news to the Netherlands during the eighteenth century: a comparison of newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen', in J.W. Koopmans, ed., *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Leuven, Paris & Dudley, 2005), 185–202.

[50] Bender, *Relationes Historicae*, ix.

in other news periodicals. In the Dutch *Hollandsche Mercurius* volumes, for instance, the audience could read about the person who had compiled and commented on that year's news ('den geenen, die dit Jaer de Penne gevoert heeft'), while on the title pages of the *Europische* only initials were visible.[51] Edward Cave edited his *Gentleman's Magazine* under the pseudonym 'Sylvanus Urban.' This anonymity can be considered as a confirmation that the genre belonged to the same category of press products as newspapers, although only the well-to-do could afford to buy the infrequent news periodicals.

As a result of this anonymity, we do not have much information about the editors' contacts with publishers and their working methods, nor about their networks of correspondents. In any event, the initials and assumed names give the impression that the news periodicals may in many cases have been the work of one individual. This must have been an educated person with journalistic talents, such as the mastery of major European languages. The early-modern prestige of journalistic activities, however, was rather low, which was perhaps the most important reason why some of the news digests' editors, such as Edmund Burke of the *Annual Register*, did not reveal their names. Contemporaries opined that gentlemen such as Burke should not write for money. Furthermore, anonymity 'helped create an air of editorial impartiality', as F.P. Lock observed.[52]

A final question concerning the meaning of news periodicals is whether or not their editors fully exploited their advantages over early-modern newspapermen, who had to work under great pressure and with many inadequate or dubious sources. This is one of the well-known reasons why newspapermen made so many mistakes, why they had to rectify many news briefs and why so many early-modern news items opened with phrases that indicated that many news items were rumours and could be false. Although editors of news periodicals could be more precise, some of them were rather lazy. They copied several news items directly from newspapers, thereby repeating the same mistakes and rumours. More

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[51] *Hollandsche Mercurius*, 35 (1685), opening. The full names of the *Europische Mercurius*'s first two editors (E.V. and J.C.) are still unknown. The following two editors have been identified as Laurens Arminius and Johannes Haverkamp. Dr. Kees van Strien produced several convincing arguments that Abraham Luiscius was the fifth editor. However, I have not yet found conclusive evidence in support of this hypothesis.

[52] It is very likely that Burke had assistance in making the *Annual Register*, in other words, in this case the editing was not an individual enterprise. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, 1: 166–7.

professional or perhaps more clever editors sidestepped this problem by publishing as many documents about a subject as possible, from friends as well as enemies, leaving the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. This was particularly the case during times of war, with uncertainties about the course and outcome of a battle and the number of casualties.[53] Although many editors of news summaries pretended to be objective as far as possible, their commentary could be rather biased. This can be partially explained by the circumstance that it was politically correct to write *pro patria*, particularly in periods of war.[54] Better research has to be done on this topic, to get a good idea of the degree of truth and accuracy of news periodicals when compared to the veracity, or the lack thereof, of newspapers.[55]

Conclusion

Early-modern news periodicals were an important part of the information industry, not only in the distribution of available news but also with regard to its preservation for later generations, as a tool for collective memory. They were desired press products for the elite and middle classes: politicians, diplomats, merchants, high-ranking civil servants, clergymen and other more or less educated people. In contrast to newspapers the news digests were meant for the bookshelves, for contemporary and later generations, as reference works after first reading. They must have stimulated, for example, decision-making processes, as their news summaries expanded readers' knowledge about current affairs. In this way they were popular—as defined in this volume's introduction—press products. One of the other reasons why this category was successful must have been the stable and recognizable format. After seeing one copy the reader knew what he could expect. Furthermore, because most news editors avoided

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[53] It is logical that news periodicals' editors were cautious because of possible censorship and other government measures that could hinder them. The editors of the *Messrelationen*, for example, avoided giving comment on the political news items during the Thirty Years' War and the Counterreformation. About war news, e.g., J.W. Koopmans, 'Oorlogen in het vroegmoderne nieuws: Nederlandse nieuwsbronnen over militaire confrontaties', *Leidschrift*, 22 (2007), 103–21.

[54] Van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius', 216–7.

[55] With regard to the early-modern notion that news had to be true, although this was very difficult to achieve: M. Broersma, 'A daily truth: the persuasive power of early modern newspapers', in J.W. Koopmans & N.H. Petersen, eds., *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period. III: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven, Paris & Dudley, 2011), 19–34.

censorship through presenting information that would not disturb the authorities, many titles could exist for a long time.

The early-modern news digests and periodicals are an excellent source to shed new light on questions about the characteristics and availability of news during the early-modern era, because they developed as a mixture of crucial early-modern printed news media: the printed news reports, pamphlets and newspapers. Serialized news digests contained items taken from several newspapers, (parts of) pamphlets, all kinds of (government) documents and also news prints. Furthermore, they contained, in an earlier stage, far more domestic reports and documents than simultaneous newspapers did and could, and also more verified news and increasing comment on the news. In time they were also filled with newsletters from citizens about domestic events. All these factors make them eminently suitable for new research about the rise of early-modern public opinion.

Moreover, research about the content, production, distribution and evolution of news periodicals may clarify the international spread of news, their relationships with other contemporary media, and the degree to which citizens became involved in the news industry. Having more precise answers on such questions, it will become possible to formulate new ideas and visions about the still debated early modern shaping of public opinion and the expansion of a public sphere. We may expect that long-running news periodicals or chronicles have at least been an important stimulus for the rise of a permanent public sphere even before the 18th century, because they provided a large audience a coherent set of news items—an important condition for public debate.

'ALL THE WORLD IS LED AND RUL'D BY OPINION':
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRINTED NEWS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Roeland Harms

Introduction

In 1642, the allegorical character *Opinion* announces that she has recently moved from Holland to England. In a dialogue with the character *Time*, she says she is born in the province of Holland, out of an English father and a Dutch mother. *Opinion* has now come to England 'to see what entertainment [she] could finde'. By 'turning the wheel of squarecaps into roundheads'—a literary metaphor describing the successful revolt by members of Parliament against King Charles—she has ruled against Time, who desired 'no *Innovation* either in *Church* or *Commonwealth*'. Therefore, Time now regrettably concludes that 'all the world is led and rul'd by Opinion'.[1]

The parallel that was drawn in this pamphlet between England and the Dutch Republic did not stand on its own: the author of another booklet complained that England had become too much 'Amsterdamnified by several opinions'.[2] Several historians have used these and other passages to prove the existence of an early-modern public opinion in both countries.[3] Although print with a domestic political content was implicitly or explicitly prohibited in 17th-century Western Europe, political news in

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[1] H[enry]. P[eacham]., *Square-Caps Turned into Round-Heads* (London, 1642), title-page, 2, 3. See also J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), 255–6.

[2] J. Taylor, *Religions Enemies* (London, 1641), 6. He specifically meant all the different opinions about religion, that 'had become the common discourse and Table-talke in every Taverne and Ale-house'.

[3] For England, see Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, esp. 202–76; J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004), 315; D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637–1645* (London & New York, 1997), esp. 1–3. For the Dutch Republic, see M. Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands 1650–72* (Leiden, 2013), 19; C. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987), 130.

England and the Dutch Republic abundantly flourished, and authors and
booksellers could work rather freely in comparison to neighboring coun-
tries.[4] According to Raymond, 'the early modern British public had a
nearly pathological interest in reading and hearing news'.[5] At the same
time, Harline concluded that the political system of the Dutch Republic
'promoted an exceptional amount of controversy, power struggles, and
non-official commentaries such as pamphlets'.[6]

Up until today there is no study in which the output of printed news in
the two countries is actually compared. Such a comparison could lead to a
more accurate description of the relationship between early-modern
printed media and public opinion. Therefore, my contribution focuses on
the similarities and differences between form and content of the printed
news in the two countries, in order to obtain a better understanding of this
relationship. To what extent was the dissemination of political news in the
two countries similar indeed? Did the form and content of Dutch and
English pamphlets develop in similar ways? And if so, can we reveal a
more general pattern in the relationship between printed media and
public debate?

To answer these questions, I will focus on three specific political crises
in both countries, thereby presenting a more nuanced historical examina-
tion of how the nature of print influenced the way political news was dis-
seminated. First, I will discuss the accumulation of the Truce Conflicts in
the Dutch Republic (1616–19), and the way politicians, publishers and
authors influenced the form and content of printed pamphlets. Second,
I will analyse the Dutch pamphlet production in 1650, the year in which a
conflict between the stadtholder and the city of Amsterdam arose, with
an almost military confrontation as a consequence. Finally, I will make a
comparison of these two crises and the production of pamphlets and
newsbooks during the first English Civil War (1642–46).

As Popkin has convincingly argued, the interaction between politicians,
authors and booksellers becomes most visible at times of political crisis,
since conflicts can catalyze both politically and economically motivated

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[4] See, for example, Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, 113–15; G. de Bruin,
Geheimhouding en verraad. De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek
(*1600–1750*) (Den Haag, 1991); D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions,
and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, 2000), 44–67.

[5] J. Raymond, 'The newspaper, public opinion, and the public sphere in the seventeenth
century', in J. Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London,
1999), 109–140, esp. 109.

[6] Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, 13.

innovations in media.[7] Therefore, I will describe what kind of printed news appeared during each conflict and how the form and content of news underwent a transformation. Second, I will reveal the influence of politicians on the form and content of the news. Although proof of news manipulation by the authorities is by its nature hard to find, criminal records sometimes offer valuable information. Third, I will discuss the role of authors and booksellers: should we consider them only as instruments of politicians, or did they initiate news themselves? To answer this question, I will make extensive use of the form and content of printed news itself, as well as of prefaces, in which the author or publisher sometimes informed the reader about the aim of his text.

The Culmination of the Truce Conflicts in the Dutch Republic (1616–19)

In the first half of the 17th century, two conflicts in the Dutch Republic arose in which pamphlets played a crucial role. The first went down in history as the Truce Conflicts, since the crisis occurred during the twelve year truce with Spain (1609–21).[8] A theological argument between the two preachers Gomarus and Arminius about the correct explanation of protestant belief had rapidly divided the Dutch into two camps: remonstrants (adherents of Arminius) and counter-remonstrants (adherents of Gomarus).

In 1618–19 the quarrel reached its boiling point with the interference of the highest politicians. Although the political constitution of the Dutch Republic was rather complicated in theory, state affairs were practically in the hands of two persons: the stadtholder Maurits van Nassau, and the Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. In 1617, Maurits decided to join the counter-remonstrants and a year later, he asked permission from the States General to arrest the most important remonstrant politicians, including Van Oldenbarnevelt. The Grand Pensionary was accused of high treason and sentenced to death. On 13 May 1619 he was beheaded at the Inner Court (the *Binnenhof*) in The Hague. Successively, it was decided to

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[7] J.D. Popkin, 'Media and revolutionary crises', in J.D. Popkin, ed., *Media and Revolution* (Kentucky, 1995), 12–30, spec. 17.

[8] For the summary of this conflict I have used the following sources: M.R. Prak, *Gouden Eeuw: Het Raadsel van de Republiek* (Nijmegen, 2002); A. Th. Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau. De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam, 2000); J.I. Israel, *De Republiek 1477–1806* (Franeker, 1996), 437–529; A. Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en Kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Assen, 1974).

prohibit the remonstrant belief, and all remonstrant city magistrates were replaced by counter-remonstrant city councils. In the course of the conflict, pamphlet production rose to enormous heights, as can be seen in Figure 12.1.

Pamphlet production clearly peaked in the heat of the conflict, in 1618. The most logical explanation for this, is of course that the more the crisis deepened, the more people's demand for news increased. However, if we look at the pamphlet genres that appeared during the course of 1616–19, we notice a somewhat more complicated development.

As these figures show, the relative amount of treatises declined and, in the course of the crisis, pamphlets more and more consisted of all different types of content. At the same time, the size of the average pamphlet declined, as can be seen in Figure 12.6. Although pamphlets of both large and small sizes increased during the crisis, pamphlets of fewer than ten pages increased far more than the longer works.

Before the culmination of the conflict, the pamphlet war consisted for a good deal of printed sermons of priests. They attacked each other's
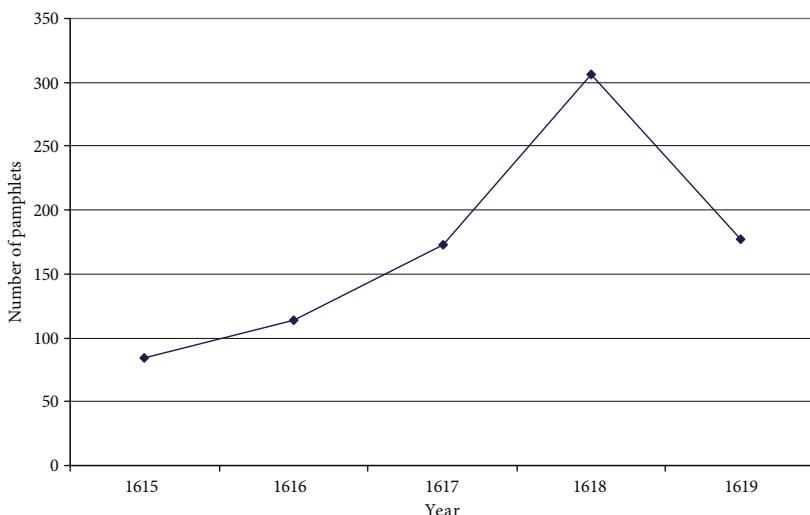
Figure 12.1. Pamphlet production in 1615–19.[9]

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[9] For this count I have used the catalogue of W. P. C. Knuttel, the largest catalogue of Dutch pamphlets by far: *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (reprint; Utrecht, 1978). I have counted all printed pamphlets written in Dutch that were related to the conflict.
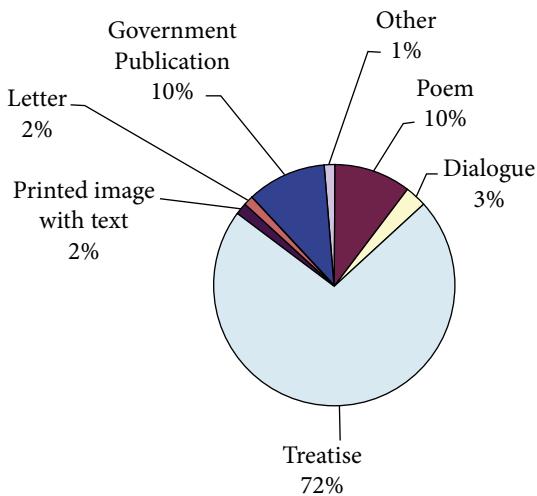
Figure 12.2. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1616 (total: 68).[10]
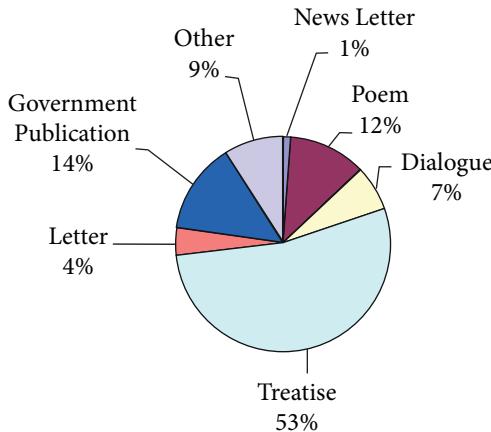
Figure 12.3. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1617 (total: 101).

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[10] See the Appendix for selection criteria and genre definitions.
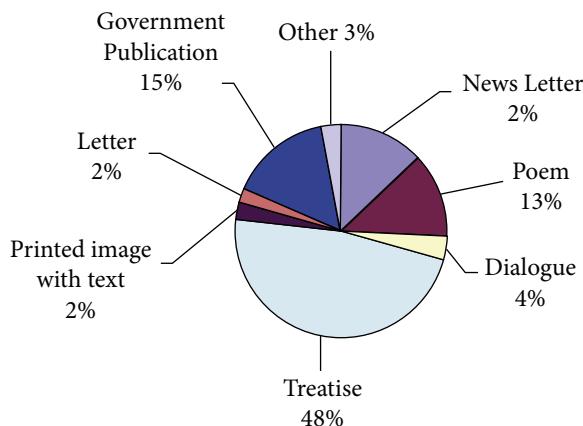
Figure 12.4. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1618 (total: 195).
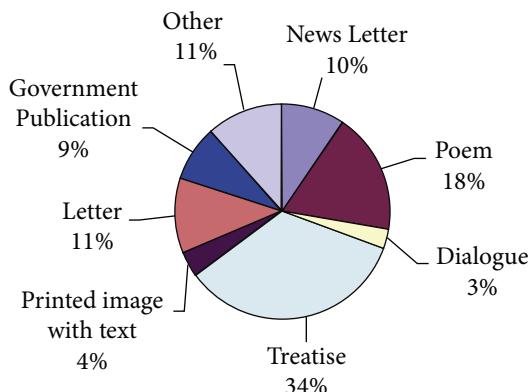
Figure 12.5. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1619 (total: 105).

arguments in endless rhetorical tracts, thereby often copying parts of the content and form of the enemy's pamphlets. Moreover, since priests officially rejected a public discussion in print about religious matters, they often wrote a preface in which they justified their tract: in fact they rejected all seditious pamphlets, but since the enemy published them, they felt themselves compelled to do the same.[11] The remonstrant preacher

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[11] Cf. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, 12–13.
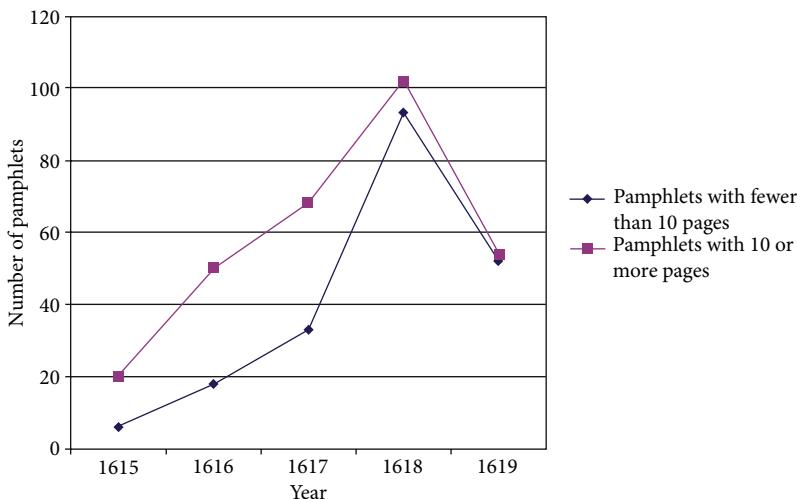
Figure 12.6. Size of Dutch pamphlets 1615–19.

Taurinus for example, who wrote countless pamphlets against the coun-
ter-remonstrants, mentioned in one of his forewords:

> Caus' it concerned me, yeah I loved to see, that once all libels should stop,
> and the people would only read those tracts that serve to educate the teach-
> ings and knowledge of God's truth; wishing that all the small books that
> contain harsh and personal things (this, my own tract as well), would be col-
> lected to be thrown in the fire, in order to attain peace and quiet in the
> churches and our beloved fatherland.[12]

However, when the Truce Conflicts came to a climax in 1618–19, a shift
in pamphlet genres occurred. Whereas until 1618 the main pamphlet
genre was the religious tract, as of 1618 more poems and satirical prints
appeared.[13] Significantly, the prefaces also changed, since authors, instead
of complaining about the production, more and more neutrally referred to

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[12] J. Taurinus, *Van-de onderlinge verdraagsaamheydt* [...] (Utrecht, 1615), A5ᵛ-A6ʳ. 'Want
ick hadde my belanght, wel gaerne sage, dat eens alle Twist-schriften moghten op houden,
ende sulcke Schriften onder't Volck gebraght, die daar dienden om de Luyden te onderwij-
sen, in *de Leere ende kennisse der waarheydt die na de Godt-zaligheydt is*: wenschende dat
alle de Boeckskens die eenige hardigheydt ofte personele dingen in-houden (oock dit mijn
Schrift selver) by den anderen moghten werden gebraght ende in het vyer geworpen, by
soo verre daar mede den Vrede der Kercke, en de ruste onses lieven Vader-landts ware te
becomen.'
[13] Jonathan Israel also noticed the lack of satirical prints before 1618; see *De Republiek*,
486.

the huge number of pamphlets that appeared 'nowadays'. The author or bookseller sometimes even stated he wanted to join public debate, just for the sake of contributing to the quarrel. An example is the preface of the pamphlet *Curious dream of the school-keeping of Mr. Jan van Oldenbarnevelt* (*Wonderlijcken Droom Vande School-houdinghe van Mr. Ian van Oldenbarnevelt*).[14] In his preface the author complained that everybody was producing news about the current times, except for him, as he lacked inspiration. Finally however, he was inspired by a curious dream in which he had seen the Grand Pensionary Van Oldenbarnevelt as a schoolmaster. He had written his enjoyable dream down in order to lighten the melancholic mind.

The satirical function of the *Wonderlijcken Droom* was enhanced by the image on the front page, that depicted Van Oldenbarnevelt as a school master, surrounded by his 'pupils' (his political companions). The names of these politicians were printed on the verso side of the front page, so that there could be no misunderstanding of who was depicted. This kind of mockery—a disparaging depiction of remonstrants on the front page, followed by a satirical explanation—became popular in 1618–19. Similar pamphlets mocking well-known remonstrant priests and politicians, were, for example, *The Arminian Muck Wagon* (*Den arminiaenschen dreck-waghen*) or *The Arminian Will* (*t'Arminiaens Testament*).[15]

In his dream, Van Oldenbarnevelt and his companions are building a ship that will bring them to Spain. In the epilogue, the author refers to a forthcoming sequel. He expresses hope that the reader has enjoyed his text, and, if so, he certainly has to buy his 'Ship to Spain', because reading new things would excite the reader to buy even more news.[16] Apparently, his first pamphlet had been popular enough to produce the sequel: *The Arminian travel to Spain* appeared probably one or two months later. The booklet again contained a mocking print on the front page, as well as a satirical text about Van Oldenbarnevelt and his associates.[17]

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[14] Anonymous, *Wonderlijcken Droom Vande School-houdinghe van Mr. Ian van Oldenbarnevelt* (s. l. s. n., [1618]).

[15] Anonymous, *Den arminiaenschen dreck-waghen gheheel naer het leven afghebeelt* (Amsterdam, 1618); Anonymous, *t'Arminiaens Testament* (s.l.s.n., 1618). About *The Arminian Muck Wagon*, see: M. Meijer Drees, 'Kijken, Lezen, Oordelen. Prent en tekst van het pamflet "Den Arminiaenschen dreck-waghen (1618)"', in M. van Vaeck, H. Brems & G.H.M. Claassens, eds., *De steen van Alciato. Literatuur en visuele cultuur in de Nederlanden* (Leuven, 2003), 495–513.

[16] Anonymous, *Wonderlijcken Droom*, Biv[r]. '[...] want soo 't spreeck-woort segt, nieuwe spijse maeckt nieuwen appetijt, nieuwe dingen te lesen maect nieuwen lust daer toe.'

[17] Anonymous, *De arminiaensche vaert naer Spaegnien* (s.l.s.n., [1618]).

Thus, together with the appearance in 1618 of a more light-footed kind of pamphlet, we also notice a whole other manner of justifying a text. The strong emphasis on the entertaining aspects of the text—visible in both prefaces, as well as in the form and content of pamphlets—leads to the assumption that the function of pamphlets in general changed directly after the culmination of a crisis. In the heat of the conflict—when people greedily bought anything that had to do with politics—booksellers and authors published short texts with a stronger emphasis on diversion.

Strikingly, none of these anti-remonstrant texts were prohibited by the States General. To understand this one-sided mud-slinging that started in 1618, we must know how censorship worked. Until 1618, authorities had tolerated almost everything, despite the fact that libelling in general was forbidden. In practice, politicians did not act against pamphleteers and their publishers. Only when riots broke out in Amsterdam in February 1617, the States of Holland for the first time considered prohibiting specific titles, but even then they decided not to do anything, out of fear that such prohibitions would only have a reversed effect and would increase curiosity.[18] Therefore, remonstrants in particular often held the authorities responsible for the huge pamphlet production. It explains why the remonstrant priest Taurinus felt compelled to join public debate, as we have seen above.

However, with the deepening of the crisis in 1618 censorship became stricter, though at the same time highly selective: from the moment the city magistrates were all replaced by counter-remonstrants, the authorities did not actively search for the often anonymous authors and booksellers of anti-remonstrant print.[19] Nonetheless, printing pamphlets against the counter-remonstrants was far more dangerous. The Amsterdam criminal records of 1616–19, which have been examined for this research, do not contain any interrogations of counter-remonstrants, whereas several cases against remonstrant booksellers and printers were found.[20] The printer Joris Veseler, for example, confessed in September 1619 to have printed several remonstrant works. He had these distributed to Hendrick Aertsz in Amsterdam and Jacob Seldenslach in Breda. He also confessed to

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[18] I.M. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag, 1998), 44.

[19] For an overview of prohibited titles in the 17th century, see Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, 371–89.

[20] Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, Criminal Records, entrance no. 5061–291/293 (*Confessieboeken* 1616–21); 5061–533 (*Secrete Confessieboeken* 1618–21) and 5061–571/572 (*Justitieboeken* 1619–22).

having worked together with the bookseller Nicolaas Biestkens, who in turn cooperated with the remonstrant author Pieter Arentsz.[21]

By acting only against remonstrant libels, the authorities directed the form and content of counter-remonstrant pamphlets. Judging by the shift in genre and size, authors and booksellers slightly changed their publishing strategy. The growing hunger for news, in combination with the selective censorship, resulted in an increasing production of particularly anti-remonstrant print. As a consequence, authors and booksellers had to make an extra effort to catch the eye of the buyer, which in turn resulted in pamphlets that were easy and enjoyable to read. These pamphlets took malicious pleasure in satirically criticizing the opponent.

Pamphlets in the Crisis of 1650

Although after the Truce Conflicts the political situation in the Dutch Republic remained relatively calm, the peace treaty with Spain in 1648 resulted in a new domestic crisis. Stadtholder William II, who had succeeded his father Frederick Henry in 1647, strongly opposed the peace and secretly made plans to continue the war against Spain in the Southern Netherlands.[22] However, to maintain the military troops, he needed money from the provinces, in particular from the rich city of Amsterdam. The city magistrates refused though, since they thought it unnecessary to sustain the size of the army in times of peace. To push his plans through, one of the political strategies of William II was to start a media campaign against the city. The clearest evidence of this campaign was a fictitious government publication published in June, entitled *Articles, agreed upon between the Republic of England on the one, and the city of Amsterdam on the other side.*[23] This 'official document' contained a military agreement between the English Parliament and the city of Amsterdam, signed 14 July. Not surprisingly, the city magistrates reacted furiously, and immediately put up a reward for the one who delivered the author or printer of the pamphlet. For some months it remained unclear who was responsible for the tract, until in December the printer William Breeckevelt of The Hague

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[21] Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, 5061–533, ff. 99ᵛ-100ʳ.

[22] For the summary of this conflict I have used the following sources: Israel, *De Republiek*, p. 659–76; S. Groenveld, *De Prins voor Amsterdam. Reacties uit pamfletten op de aanslag van 1650* (Bussum, 1967); G.W. Kernkamp, *Prins Willem II* (Amsterdam, 1943).

[23] *Articulen, geslooten ende geaccordeert tusschen de Republijque van Engelandt ter eenre, en de stadt Amsterdam in 't particulier ter andere sijde* (Den Haag, 1650).

was caught in Amsterdam by coincidence. Under torture, he confessed to have been commissioned to print this 'agreement' by one Johan Spronssen, an important political advisor of William II.[24]

It thus became clear that the stadtholder himself, or one of his close advisors, had sought to discredit the city with the rest of the provinces in a clever way. The publication of a fake secret agreement reveals how much power William II attributed to print. Several times, he publicly criticized the politics of the States of Holland, thereby attempting to influence public debate and to set up the province of Holland against the other provinces. In a published *Proposition*, for example, he called the States of Holland's resolution to reduce military troops 'disastrous'. According to him, this decision would lead to 'disorder and great difficulties' and was taken 'without previous communication of her Allies' and against the will of their deputies.[25] An anonymous opponent of the stadtholder reacted to this *Proposition*, complaining that it had not been enough 'to just send the Proposition to the magistrates'. They (the stadtholder and his advisors) had printed it, 'so that the Proposition is done to the whole town, yeah to the whole world'.[26]

Manipulating public opinion was just one of the strategies William II applied. In total secrecy he also prepared an attack on Amsterdam. In collaboration with his nephew and stadtholder of Friesland William Frederick, and his advisor Johan Spronssen, he decided to capture the city by surprise and without the use of force. To this end, military troops, under the command of William Frederick, had to march into the city in the night of 29 and 30 July. However, because of bad weather the army of the stadtholder lost its way and was accidentally discovered by the messenger of Hamburg, who arrived at Amsterdam first and warned one of the cities' four mayors. The gates were immediately closed, and William Frederick was compelled to lay siege to the city. On 1 August, a furious William II

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[24] About the case of Breeckevelt, see M. Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, 1997), 129–33, 190; S. Groenveld, '"Een enckel valsch ende lasterlijck verdichtsel" Een derde actie van prins Willem II in juli 1650', in S. Groenveld, M. Mout & I. Schöffer, eds., *Bestuurders en geleerden* (Utrecht, 1985), 113–25; I. Prins, 'Amsterdamse schimpdichters vervolgd', *Amstelodamum*, 30 (1933), 189–227.

[25] *Propositie van syn hoocheyt ende de heeren gedeputeerden van de [...] Staten Generael, gedaen inde respective steden van Hollandt* (s. l. s. n., 1650), A2ʳ.

[26] *Noodige Aenmerckinge Op seeckere Propositien In Junio 1650. Gedaen inde Hollantsche Steden* (Amsterdam, 1650), A2ʳ. For more examples of the stadtholders' media strategies, see R. Harms, 'Thievery of literature: consequences of the interaction between politics and commerce for the form and content of pamphlets', in F. Deen, D. Onnekink & M. Reinders, eds., *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*, 37–62, spec. 42–46.

travelled to Amsterdam for negotiations. On 3 August—surprisingly quickly—the two parties reached an agreement, and a civil war had once again been nipped in the bud.

The brutal attempt of the stadtholder to exercise his authority was the direct cause for an enormous pamphlet production after 30 July. Even more than during the Truce Conflicts, both the number of pamphlets, and the pamphlet genres changed significantly after the culmination of the crisis, as can be seen in figures 12.7 and 12.8.[27]

Whereas before the siege of Amsterdam, pamphlets mainly consisted of tracts published by either William II or his opponents, the majority of pamphlets after the siege consisted of literary poems and dialogues. Together they make up 55% of all pamphlets published in these few months.

Considering those tracts merely as reflections of the fierce discussion about the stadtholders' rights is too simplistic. Similar to the satirical texts that were written after the culmination of the Truce Conflicts, the form and content of these poems and dialogues also reveal how authors and booksellers attempted to profit financially from the news hunger. Publishers and authors thus shaped political news into an attractive format. Just as in 1618–19, the majority of these pamphlets contained only a
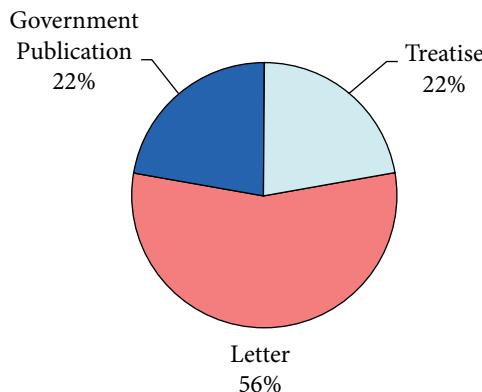
Figure 12.7. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1650, published before the siege of Amsterdam (total: 18).

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27 See also Harms, 'Thievery of literature', 41–2.
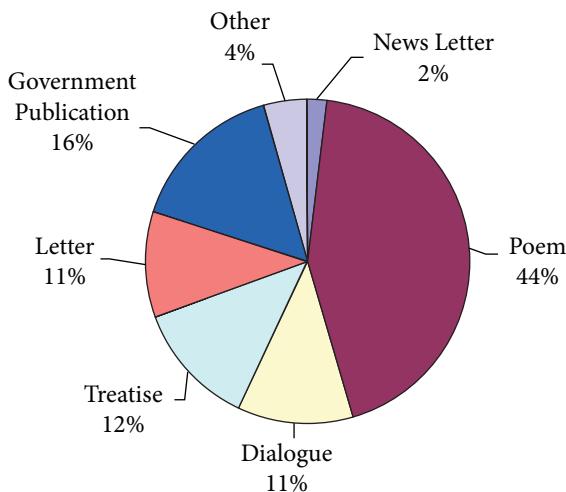
Figure 12.8. Genre division of pamphlets related to the conflict in 1650, published after the siege of Amsterdam (total: 114).

few leafs, a necessity to publish rapidly. About 70% of the tracts related to the conflict in 1650 contained less than 10 pages.

Since most pamphlets about the conflict were produced without the bookseller's name, it is difficult to reveal how many publishers were involved in the production. A count of Amsterdam publishers in the surrounding years (1647–53) leads to a total of 84 names.[28] Together, they sold 161 pamphlets, which comes down to an average of almost two pamphlets per bookseller for a period of seven years. By far the majority of booksellers sold just one or two pamphlets. Only two booksellers sold more than ten pamphlets (Joost Hartgersz sold 15, and Jan van Hilten 28 pamphlets in this period). These numbers lead to the assumption that during a political crisis a lot of different booksellers produced one or two pamphlets to gain a quick profit, thereby attempting to make the pamphlet as attractive as possible to beat rival booksellers.

This attempt of booksellers to attract a large as possible reading audience is even more evident than during the Truce Conflicts. In several ways, the content of pamphlets reveals the publisher's commercial intentions. Significant is the complaint of an anonymous bookseller who printed a

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[28] A list of these names is published in my dissertation: R. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2011), 98–9.

pamphlet dialogue entitled *Hollandic Discourse* (*Hollants Praatjen*).[29] This pamphlet was a success, according to the two sequels that followed.[30] However, it soon became clear that the second and third part of the *Hollandic Discourse* were 'stolen' by other booksellers before the original bookseller could have produced the sequels himself. In a printed *Protest* the publisher of the first *Holland Discourse* reported that he had immediately seen 'this [i.e. the 'stealing' of the sequels] was done just because the first part was so successfully sold, and I also recognized, that these people did it only to make a profit'.[31] Subsequently, he produced his own two sequels: *Authentic Second Part* and *Authentic Third Part* (*Rechte Tweede Deel* and *Rechte Derde Deel*).[32]

The genre of the dialogue lent itself perfectly to disseminate a political message in a persuasive and entertaining way at the same time. Since none of the sequels of the *Hollandic Discourse* differ significantly in their political point of view, it can safely been argued that they were printed for commercial reasons in the first place. Their readability was probably bigger than the exhaustive theological tracts, published by dozens during the Truce Conflicts. The dialogues reflected the lively debates in the street and were probably meant to read and discuss together.[33] The fictitious characters in the texts have common names and talk with each other in a familiar way.

These characters also discuss other, recently published pamphlets, which gave the bookseller an opportunity to advertise in disguise. An example *par excellence* of such a pamphlet is *Neighborly Discourse Between Three Men of Amsterdam* (*Buer-Praatje tusschen drie Amsterdammers*). At the beginning of this dialogue neighbour Claes tells the others he has just made his daily visit to the bookseller, who told him 'that again something is made public and spitted out in print, against our honorable magistrates of Amsterdam'. Neighbour Dirck is surprised:

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[29] Anonymous, *Hollants Praatjen, Tusschen vier personen* (Antwerpen, 1650). Antwerp could have been a pseudonym, used to avoid censorship. Cf. C. Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen. Literaire discussiecultuur in Nederlandse praatjespamfletten* (*circa 1600–1750*) (Hilversum, 2008), 161–6.

[30] Anonymous, *Het Tweede Deel van't Hollants Praetjen* (Brussels, 1650); Anonymous, *Hollandts Praetjen* [...] *Het Derde Deel* (s.l.s.n., 1650).

[31] Anonymous, *Protest van den Brabander, aen de lesers van't Hollands praatje* (Antwerpen, 1650), 5–6: 'Ick sag terstondt wel, dat het alleen daarom gedaan wiert, om dat het Eerste Deel soo wel verkocht was, en sag oock wel, dat die luyden het nergens anders om deden dan om haar profijt daar uyt te trecken.'

[32] Anonymous, *Het Rechte Tweede Deel, Van't Hollants Praatje* (Antwerpen, 1650); Anonymous, *Het Rechte Tweede Deel, Van't Hollands Praetje* (s.l.s.n. 1650).

[33] Dingemanse, *Rap van tong*, 156.

> How, again? again a new pamphlet is printed, or do you mean *The Black Pencil*, which I have already bought a few weeks ago, in the Hague, when I was there to postulate some debts, and to my knowledge, the same would be reprinted here in our city, though others say, that the second print of Utrecht is distributed to us.[34]

Dirck's reaction reveals the ease with which pamphlets from one town could be distributed to the other.

In the rest of the conversation the three neighbours discuss other controversial pamphlets in which the Amsterdam mayors have been taunted. After Dirck has expressed his amazement about the fact that all these libels can be bought so easily, he tells where one can buy them:

> 't is sold to everyone, no one excepted, who wants to have it simply comes to Aeltje Handsome, on the corner of the Old Hooghstraet, and could buy them there.[35]

A little later Dirck also tells the others what titles she sells: *The Black Pencil*, *The Amsterdam Procession*, and all the other scandalous libels that have recently been published.

In her literary analysis, Clazina Dingemanse concluded that this dialogue did not contain a clear political message. The three neighbours condemn both the pro-Amsterdam, and the anti-Amsterdam pamphlets, and do not persuade the reader towards a particular point of view. Instead, the tract was meant to raise curiosity about all the titles discussed, which implicitly clarifies the role of the bookseller. Not only did the pamphlet reflect the intense political discussions, it increased the hunger for news at the same time.

Similar to the dialogues, poems also appeared in series, and often contained reflections on the outburst of news. Earlier, I have revealed in detail how a series of six pamphlet poems in 1650 reacted on each other in exactly the same format, adapting the lines of the famous chorus after the first act in Vondel's tragedy *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*.[36] This literary game with a strong intertextuality not only strengthened the political polemic,

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[34] Anonymous, *Buer-praatje tusschen drie Amsterdammers, te weten: Claes, Ian, en Dirck-buer* (s.l.s.n., 1650), sig. A2ʳ. 'hoe, al weder? Isser nu al weder wat gemaeckt, of meent ghy het *Swarte Potloot* dat heb ick al voor eenige weken inden hage gekocht, doen ick daer laetst was om eenige schulden in te manen, en na mijn seker bericht is, soo soude het selve hier in onse Stadt herdruckt zijn, doch andere segghen, dat den tweeden Druck van Utrecht hier over gekomen is.'

[35] Anonymous, *Buer-praatje*, sig. A1ᵛ: "t worde verkocht aen een yeder, niemandt uytgesondert, die het maer begeerde die quam tot Moy Aeltjes, op de hoeck van de oude Hooghstraet, en kondese daer bekomen.'

[36] Harms, 'Thievery of literature', 46–53.

but also increased the popularity of a text. Apparently, poems—just as dialogues—were often followed by other poems in the same format. Thus, they make visible the commercial incentive of the bookseller, who purposely continued a popular formula to attract a large as possible reading audience.

The Transformation of Printed News during the English Civil War

To what extent can we recognize similar consequences of the interaction between politics and commerce for the production of political news in England during the first Civil War (1642–46)?[37] Just as in the two Dutch crises of 1650, pamphlets played a very important role in this war. As Raymond has illustrated, the annual press output arose from an average of about 500 items to more than 4,000 items in 1641, a year before the outbreak of the war.[38] A good deal of this enormous increase of print can be ascribed to pamphlet production. Pamphlets consisted of different sorts of text, such as printed sermons, newsletters, government publications, dialogues and poems.

In his important study *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, Jason Peacey convincingly showed that politicians were actively involved in producing propaganda in several ways.[39] They could even go so far as to exploit and invent the news themselves, similar to the strategy of the Dutch stadtholder in 1650. The parliamentarians seem to have been greatly responsible for the exceptional openness of political debate, which is best illustrated by their *Grand Remonstrance*, published in 1641.[40] This text of grievances against King Charles was made public on purpose, to openly discredit the King. Needless to say that Charles was highly dissatisfied with this public manifestation against him. Soon however, an enormous outburst of popular pamphlets would force him to react in print as well.

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[37] Although the Civil War was the result of a complex interplay of political, religious, and economic conflicts, a consensus of opinion exists against viewing it as an ideological conflict. In the course of the 1630s, clashes between King Charles I and Parliament multiplied, and in 1642 Charles saw himself compelled to flee to Nottingham, where he declared war to Parliament. For an overview of the historiography, see J. Adamson, 'Introduction: high roads and blind alleys – the English civil war and its historiography', in J. Adamson, ed., *The English Civil Wars: Conflicts and Contexts* (London, 2009), 1–35. See also M. Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008); C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991).

[38] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 164.

[39] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 242.

[40] Cf. J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford, 1996), 114.

Besides publishing certain political tracts on purpose, both royalists and parliamentarians also protected certain authors, or commissioned them to publish a tract. Sermons in particular were often printed in order of the authorities.[41] Stephen Marshall, for example, was preacher to the English Parliament and for that reason he was often satirized by royalists.[42] However, not publishing a sermon that was of benefit to the authorities could be dangerous, as bookseller Peter Cole experienced. For his refusal to print a sermon that was 'of advantage of the State', Parliament ordered the Committee for Examinations 'to send for Cole and examine him about detaining the sermon in his hands'.[43]

Yet the authorities were not the only manipulators of print: authors and booksellers also actively influenced the form and content of news, just as they did in the Dutch crises. Printed news was thus influenced by three interested parties, of which the consequences are again most visible in the sermon. Booksellers considered this medium as a money-making product: not only did they include advertisements in the margins, they sometimes even tried to 'steal' a sermon from someone else. In a pamphlet that circulated in Exeter in April 1643, the priest John Bond warned his readers not to buy a printed sermon that was falsely circulating under his name. Instead, they had to wait a few days or weeks to buy his authentic text:

> Having lately seene a pamphlet, mis-called a Sermon, and fathered upon my name, under this Title, [*A Sermon preached in Exon, before the Deputy Lieutenants, Captaines, &c. in the County of Devon,* by John Bond, *Minister of God in the city of Exon*]. The text being, *Prov. 25 v.5.* and perusing those broken notes upon it, contained in some 35 pages. I thought it my duty (so soone as I could recover my selfe from astonishment at the injurious boldnesse of the publisher, *T.B.*) to tell the world, that not onely my selfe, but, which is farre more neere me, the very Cause, Text, and Reader, are abused in that bastard copy. [...]
>
> And therefore mine intreaty to the Reader of these lines is this, that for his owne sake as well as mine, he would save the labour of reading those shreds, or at least the charges of buying them; and if he will needs see something of mine upon that Text, let him but hold-in his purse, and lay-out a little patience in staying a few weekes (perhaps dayes) until I can finish my beginnings upon that Scripture, and then hee [sic] may have the Commodity at first hand, perhaps cheaper and sweeter then it can come from such regrating, and soyling Hacksters.[44]

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[41] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 163-202, esp. 166.
[42] Cf. *Mercurius Aulicus*, fifth week, 3 February 1644, 806.
[43] D.F. McKenzie & M. Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641–1700* (Oxford, 2005), 300.
[44] J. Bond, *Having lately seene a pamphlet* ([London], 1643). *Hacksters*: street traders who sold their wares from door to door.

Bond's pamphlet is comparable to the Dutch *Protest* published in 1650 (discussed above), and reveals clearly that a priest's decision to publish his sermon was not always ideologically motivated. The new medium also offered the author—and his bookseller—the possibility to earn some extra money. In other words: the sermon illustrates very well how the content of political news transformed as a result of the possibility to produce and disseminate the message in print. The authorities started to use the sermon as a political weapon, ordering priests to print them. Therefore, a printed sermon was different from the spoken one and, as a result, the preacher's role slightly changed. It is no coincidence that some priests, such as Hugh Peters and Simeon Ashe, even experimented with setting up newsbooks, as did the priest Peter Heylin, who was the first editor of the famous *Mercurius Aulicus*. These newsbooks therefore form another good example of the consequences of the interaction between politicians, authors and booksellers for the form and content of the news.

Newsbooks

The enormous press increase in 1641 not only was the result of pamphlet production, but also of newsbooks: weekly periodicals of usually eight pages, containing domestic political news. From the start these serials were very popular, but with the appearance of the most famous ones in 1643—the royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* and the parliamentarian *Mercurius Britanicus*—they reached a new stage, in which the literary style became more emotive and polarized.[45] Both mercuries were probably set up with the help of politicians, as part of a propaganda campaign against the other party.[46] The editors—John Berkenhead of *Aulicus* and Marchamont Nedham of *Britanicus*—made use of a whole array of rhetorical strategies. Hired by the authorities, it was their job to defeat the enemy in print. Thus, we have to consider the editors as early-modern *spin doctors*, whose texts not necessarily reflected their own political convictions.[47]

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[45] Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, 13, 150–52.

[46] A.M.J. Macadam, 'Very tightly bound, *Mercurius Britanicus*: journalism and politics in the English civil war', undergraduate dissertation (University of Sussex, 2005), 11; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 163–202.

[47] Illustrative is the fact that Marchamont Nedham easily changed sides after the first Civil War in 1646, and started to edit the royalist *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. When Parliament came into power in 1649, he again became the editor of a parliamentarian newsbook: *Mercurius Politicus*.

As Raymond has shown, newsbooks have more in common with pamphlets than with corantos, especially because of the use of rhetoric and their strong polemical function.[48] Both the *Mercurius Aulicus* and the *Mercurius Britanicus* show a high interaction and are filled with smart and satiric reactions on each other. Contemporaries also referred to the newsbooks with the term 'pamphlets', familiar as they were with this kind of animadversion in the traditional media.

Nevertheless, due to the fact that newsbooks had to appear on a weekly basis, the production of these media seems to have necessitated a more professional cooperation between politician, author and bookseller than ever before. P.W. Thomas, in his study of the editor John Berkenhead, observes that the authors' writing talents became *marketable* in the Civil War.[49] It was definitely no coincidence that, along with the new media, a whole new kind of professional street trader developed: the mercury-men and -women. These hawkers bought a large number of newspapers directly from the bookseller and sold them through to individual hawkers.[50] Therefore, they formed a new link in the chain of news distribution.

News thus became a business in which a lot of different interested parties were involved. To attract readers and catch the eye amongst the enormous 'staple of news' both booksellers and politicians had to innovate the media.[51] Judging by all the different newsbooks that appeared in one single year, we must conclude that lots of booksellers tried to find a niche in the market. Figure 12.9 shows how many serials appeared per month in 1644, based on a count of all periodicals in Nelson and Seccombe's short title catalogue of British newspapers and periodicals.

On average, people could choose between 16 or 17 different titles per month. However, most periodicals did not exist for a long time. In 1644 alone, 36 different titles appeared. Only nine of them were published the whole year long, the rest only appeared for a few months, or sometimes even only once.

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[48] Therefore, as Joop Koopmans rightly argues in his chapter, newsbooks can be considered as 'serialized pamphlets', not to be confused with monthly or bi-annually published news periodicals containing summaries of the news.

[49] P.W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead 1617–1679, A Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford, 1969), 19.

[50] P. McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street. Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678–1730* (Oxford, 1998), 55–6. See also the chapter by Jason Peacey in this volume.

[51] Ben Johnson in the 1620s satirically entitled his play about the news business *The Staple of News*. B. Johnson, *The Staple of News*, ed. A. Parr (Manchester, 1988).
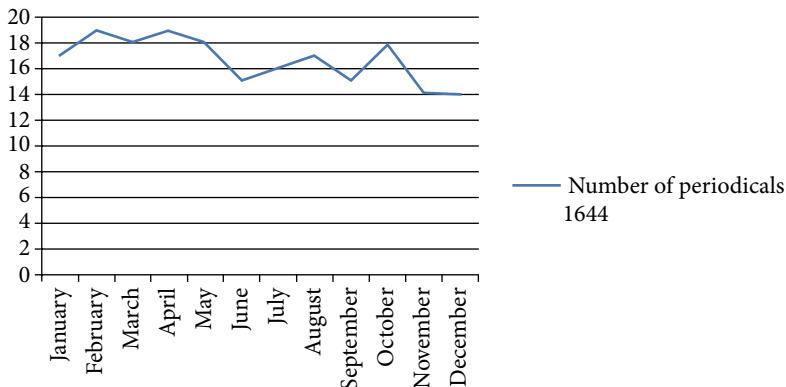
Figure 12.9. Periodicals appearing in 1644 per month.[52]

Bernard Alsop, a Grub Street printer and bookseller, was involved in pub-
lishing no less than eleven different, more or less successful newsbooks in
five years.[53] Some periodicals were printed for him, others he printed by
himself (perhaps also for himself, or for someone else). In 1644, he anony-
mously published *Mercurius &c.*, in which he announced that he would
only continue if the reader would buy his periodical:

> if you like him, say so, and call him (pray) *Veridicus*: and he shall wait upon
> you weekly: If you like him not, decry him; and I shall soone dismisse the
> tame familiar.[54]

Apparently, the readers *did* like his periodical, since after another anony-
mous number, the third issue appeared with the full title *Mercurius
Veridicus* and with Alsop's name on the title page.

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[52] C. Nelson & M. Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700: A Short-Title
Catalogue of Serials Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America* (New York,
1987). The graph is based on the chronological index, 625–7.

[53] Besides the two newsbooks discussed below, Alsop was also the publisher of the
Parliaments Scouts Discovery (one issue in 1643); the *Weekly Accompt of Certain Special and
Remarkable Passages* (one issue in 1643); the *Mercurius Cambro-Britannus* (seven issues in
1643–1644); the *Exact and True Collection* (January-March 1646) the *Heads of Chiefe
Passages in Parliament* (two issues in 1648); *A Perfect Account of the Daily Intelligence from
the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland* (January 1651-September 1655); the *Weekly
Account* (September 1643-December 1644); the *Perfect Weekly Account* (May 1647-January
1649) and the *Mercurius Veridicus* (for the second time, 1645–6). In the 1650s he continued
printing other periodicals. For a complete list, see Nelson & Seccombe, *British Newspapers
and Periodicals*, 705.

[54] Anonymous [B. Alsop], *Mercurius &c.*, 17 Jan. 1643 [1644 N.S.].

Bernard Alsop is a good example of how an English printer / bookseller did not care about the ideology of his newsbook, but only about his reputation and the selling of news. It is telling that he once got arrested for printing a pamphlet that was fictitiously signed with the name of a Parliament clerk. This had made the pamphlet look like a real government publication, making it a more trustful and hence a better selling product. Therefore, Raymond rightly argues that newsbooks 'reflected at once a political and commercial interest'.[55] In fact, these media must be considered as the ultimate outcome of the transformation of printed news during the first years of the War. In order to reach as much people as possible, the news had to be disseminated in a popular, recognizable format.

Conclusion

The comparison between the three 17th-century crises reveals one important parallel: during each conflict printed news transformed into an attractive, recognizable format. This transformation was the consequence of the interaction between politicians, authors and booksellers. The authorities influenced print in both direct and indirect ways. On the one hand, they could order authors or booksellers to publish political tracts on purpose, or even develop or invent 'news' themselves, something that occurred during the Dutch crisis in 1650 and during the English Civil War. On the other hand, they could direct the form and content of the pamphlet indirectly by censoring texts selectively, as is visible in 1618–19 in the Dutch Republic.

Although the officials' attitude towards print partly determined what booksellers could, or even should produce, it also became clear that publishers applied innovative strategies themselves. Especially in the heat of the conflict, when the demand for news was at its peak, they attempted to join public debate in order to make a profit. Popular pamphlets in both England and the Dutch Republic were 'stolen' by other booksellers, or purposely continued in sequels. In England, the final outcome of this process was the development of a whole new medium: the newsbook.

It is puzzling why the newsbook was not produced in any of the conflicts in the Dutch Republic. Here, a similar medium was published only in the late 18th century, in the conflict between Orangists and Patriots.[56] A possible reason could be that in England central control over what was

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[55] Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, 17.
[56] See, for example, P. van Wissing, ed., *Stookschriften. Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen, 2008).

produced was entirely lost: as of 1642 the royalists in Oxford did not have any control over London and vice versa. Thus, it was impossible to arrest the editors and booksellers of the enemy. We can therefore assume that printed news during the English Civil War transformed in a more rapid way than print in the Dutch Republic. In other words: the military clash in England made it possible to transform political print even more than in the Dutch Republic, where unity was never entirely lost, making it too dangerous to produce propagandistic pamphlets on a regular basis.

On a more abstract level, the comparison also reveals that both politicians and booksellers in each conflict deliberately involved their readers in politics, due to the fact that they needed either support, or money. This means readers were automatically confronted with political voices from different sides and that—in both countries—booksellers stimulated this political discussion and partly shaped public debate by serializing the form and content of news.[57] Reacting on each other's pamphlets was not only a way to strengthen polemics, but also a smart strategy to attract a stable reading public. This explains why so many pamphlets and newsbooks only slightly modified the content or form of an earlier text.

Booksellers saw printed pamphlets and newsbooks mainly as products for sale, of which the saleability was often more important than the ideological content. As a result, the form could sometimes become dominant over the content. As Halasz stated, the invention of print changed the discursive field, 'not by bringing books to the marketplace […] but by enabling the marketplace to develop as a means of producing, disseminating, and mediating discourse independent of the sites and practices associated with and sanctioned by university, Crown and Church'.[58] In other words: the political discussion changed as a result of the new ways in which the news was disseminated.

Thus, the political opinions, that 'led and rul'd' the world in 1642 according to contemporaries, were moulded in a popular form in parallel ways in the two countries. This form highly influenced the content of news, and the kind of news that circulated among the people. Print was manipulated from the start and this manipulation was further developed during moments in which news demand was high. Particularly in the heat of a conflict, booksellers, in cooperation with pamphlet authors, deliberately continued an internal discussion in print, thereby merely creating news instead of reflecting on it.

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[57] Cf. Raymond, 'The newspaper, public opinion', 117–124.
[58] A. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997), 4.

Appendix: Pamphlet Selection and Analysis

Selection Criteria

I have analysed all pamphlets of 1615–19 and 1650 in the Knuttel catalogue that are related to the quarrel between Amsterdam and William II. Manuscript pamphlets, as well as reprints (either printed under the same title, or under another title) were excluded.

Analysis

I have distinguished the following genres:

· *News reports*: Pamphlets written in prose that primarily function to inform about a certain event.
· *Poems*: Pamphlets written in verse.
· *Dialogues*: Pamphlets written in the form of a dialogue between one or more literary characters.
· *Treatises*: Texts written in prose that primarily function to persuade the reader, not directed to a specific reader.
· *Letters*: Texts written in prose that function to inform, or to persuade the reader, directed towards a specific addressee.
· *Government publications*: Pamphlets signed by the Stadtholder or a local government.
· *Other*.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIRST
EDUCATIONAL PRINT SERIES IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1800–1820

J.G.L. Thijssen

Introduction

Around 1800 some educational broadsides for children were published
which launched a series of a new kind of Dutch print. The images in these
broadsides were different from traditional children's prints, although the
subjects were at times identical. For instance, one may find images of ani-
mals or children's games in both traditional and new children's prints, but
traditional images are often smaller with less detail and crudely drawn.
The following figures present two images of a hopscotch game: 13.1 in

Zie zoo , mijn werk is afgedaan ,
Nu lustig in de hinkelbaan.

Figure 13.1. Hopscotch game: image from traditional print (publ. Wijnhoven-
Hendriksen number 15). Woodcut, artist unknown. Private Collection.

Die goed wil *Hinklen* in de Baan;
Moet zorgen op geen ftreep te flaan.

Figure 13.2. Hopscotch game: image from a new SCB print (publ. Bouwer number P). Woodcut by J. Oortman. Private Collection.

a traditional and 13.2 in a new children's print. At a later stage, the various differences will be discussed in detail.

The prints common before 1800 are considered traditional broadsides or popular prints. The word 'popular' does not imply that these prints were aimed at the lower classes. They were intended for all ranks and stations in life. Publishers focused these traditional prints, for commercial reasons, on the taste of a wide audience of all ages and, at a later stage, *c.* 1700, on children and youngsters in particular. They were popular in the sense of being cheap and mass-produced, using simple wording and rhymes, without any pedagogical or educational pretence or value.[1]

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[1] Some traditional prints 'combine laughter with incisive social critique': A. Vanhaelen, *Comic print and Theatre in Early Modern Amsterdam: Gender, Childhood and the City* (Aldershot, 2003), 96. However, this category of prints is just a small sample and although these prints could present 'exempla contraria', they did not aim at pedagogical or educational goals. See: K. Hazelzet, *Verkeerde werelden. Exempla contraria in de Nederlandse*

Nevertheless, throughout the 18th century Dutch primary schools used them, though not to teach.[2] Teachers used them as a reward for young children for either their good behaviour or achievements. The new children's prints, which appeared at Dutch schools around 1800, were, from the point of view of content, obviously aimed at conveying knowledge and virtues. They were, by contemporary standards, modern, pedagogically acceptable prints, and genuine school prints, particularly meant for lower class children attending primary schools.

The rise of these educational prints was not an isolated phenomenon. It was undoubtedly linked with a broad international movement focusing on educating the lower class citizen, the origin of which was found in the notions of the Enlightenment. Until the 18th century, writers and statesmen generally accepted a principle of 'innate knowledge', but, during the Enlightenment, some distanced themselves from it. Around 1700, the philosopher John Locke claimed that every child was born as a 'tabula rasa', a blank page. For that reason, he viewed youth as a distinct phase in life, a phase during which people are most susceptible to experiences and impressions, making education very important.[3]

Locke and his adherents were at the beginning of a paradigmatic slide from 'nature' to 'nurture'. Ideas about 'innate' knowledge were swapped in favour of educational optimism: first by prominent scholars, and at a later stage by increasingly wide circles. Initially, its translation into practical educational opportunities remained restricted to the upper and middle classes. However, albeit with some delay, enlightened reformers also started paying attention to the education of the lower classes. These reformers felt a social need to educate lower class citizens and turn them into more useful members of society: they emphasized the importance of education as an instrument to anticipate political, technological and scientific changes. They believed that modern public education was indissolubly linked with progress.

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beeldende kunst (Leiden, 2007), parts 3 and 13. See also M. de Meyer, De volks-en kinderprent in de Nederlanden (Antwerpen, 1962), 39–48.

  [2] The Utrecht University lector Dr. Pieter Boddaert (1733–95) wrote that schools had given children these prints 'sints onheuglijke jaaren', i.e. since time out of mind. So these prints were probably used throughout the 18th century. See the full text of Boddaert in J. Thijssen, Leerzaame prentjens voor de jeugd (Utrecht, 2009), 25–45. The use of traditional school prints was stimulated by announcements of publishers in journals. See for example an announcement of the publisher Erven Wed. Van Egmont in 'Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant' (14 Sept. 1775).

  [3] J. Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (London, 1690), and Some Thoughts Concerning Education (London, 1693).

At the beginning of the 19th century, there were quite a few sceptics and opponents of public education to be found throughout Europe, both among the ruling elite, the middle class, and among the actual target group, the lower class citizens. A number of different motives fed their resistance, such as failure to understand the modern, child-friendly educational approach of working-class children, doubts with regard to the educational potential and ambition of the lower classes and fear of their socio-economic upward mobility, as well as the consequences of all this progression on the labour market.[4]

The opponents' fear and disbelief provided a nutritious soil for mockery and satire. In various countries, this resistance led to publication of various caricatures. In France and the Netherlands mockery was particularly aimed at those educational reformers who preferred a child-friendly approach at primary schools, and contrasted them sharply with the stern, traditional approach.[5] In England, mockery mainly involved the lower class citizen's 'march of the intellect', which, amongst other things, resulted in the well-known caricature of 'the educated dustman' as a cynical stereotype scoffing at individual progress. A famous example of such a caricature is 'The Scavenger's Lamentation' (Figure 13.3). The print depicts 'a massively heroic street cleaner leaning on his broom while a mechanised street cleaning cart takes away his dignity as well as his livelihood'.[6]

In short, with effect from 1800, many reformers viewed education of the working class citizen as a logical and practical consequence of Enlightenment; however, resistance to the principle is not to be underestimated. Although this resistance lessened during the course of the 19th century, the cultural change on which this depended took several decades. It is against this background, that the introduction of new, pedagogically acceptable children's prints has to be viewed.

The initiative for publishing the first Dutch educational prints series was taken by an organisation with ambitious educational ideals, the so-called 'Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen', translated into English as 'Society for Common Benefit', abbreviated as SCB. They are also called the SCB-prints, Benefit-prints or new school prints, although their use was certainly not restricted to schools alone. The SCB can be characterised as a social organisation involved in educating the common people, the mass

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4   J. Bernhauser, *Wandbilder im Anschauungsunterricht* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 31–6; B.F. Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790–1870* (2nd edn.; Manchester & New York, 2001), 53–60; Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 19 and 129.

5   Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 128–9.

6   Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints*, 57–60, 61–2.

Figure 13.3. 'The Scavenger's Lamentation': image of an educated dustman scoffing at progression (mockery of the lower class citizen's 'march of intellect'). Copper engraving by 'Sharpshooter'. Private Collection.

of lower class citizens, both inside and outside school. It promoted a range of educational activities, systematically focusing on knowledge and virtues. As such the SCB was the driving force behind a number of innovations dating back to the early days of national educational care, involving modern primary school education in particular. The SCB's educational innovations in the 19th century have been researched extensively.[7] However, the SCB's activities in connection with school prints are an exception to this general picture, and have only recently been explored.[8]

This contribution will examine some distinctive aspects of these first school prints. We will first have to typify the common Dutch popular prints from before 1800, after which we will explain the SCB's educational ambitions, being the ideological context in which the first school print series developed. Then, much attention will be paid to the core of this

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[7] See among others J.H.G. Lenders, *De Burger en de Volksschool* (Nijmegen, 1988) and W.W. Mijnhardt & A.J. Wichers, *Om het algemeen volksgeluk* (Edam, 1984).

[8] See among others J.G.L. Thijssen, 'Das neue Bildungsideal und die erste Bilderreihe in Niederländischen Volksschulen um 1800', in W. Brückner, K. Vanja, D. Lorenz, A. Milano & S. Nagy, eds., *Arbeitskreis Bild-Druck-Papier, Band 12* (Münster, 2008), 75–89.

article: the way in which these prints were developed and distributed. Distribution practices will always have important consequences (see the Introduction to this volume) and in this case we will show that distribution channels were closely connected to the way these new school prints were developed and used. Then we will describe some specific characteristics of these prints and finish with some conclusions.

Traditional Dutch Popular Prints

Dutch popular prints should not be considered a well-defined phenomenon. They include a huge variety of prints, such as printed New Year's wishes of dustbin men and lamplighters, pages with decorated edges inside, in which children could write a letter on special occasions, religious prints protecting against dangers (during travels, thunderstorms, etc.). During the 17th century profane print themes came up, especially during the second half of that century when the popular print production increased strongly. The most common traditional Dutch popular prints were printed on paper of the same large format and published by firms in numbered series with a huge variety in theme. They retained these print numbers throughout the publisher's life to make ordering easier. Wherever this chapter refers to 'traditional prints', this indicates this last category of prints.

These traditional prints could simply be described as prints made by the craft industry, usually woodcuts meant for the masses.[9] From the 17th until the late 19th century, they were mass-produced articles. They were loose, common size sheets of paper, printed on one side, with a single or several single images and with little explanatory text. Consequently, the limited literacy of common people did not present an accessibility threshold. The problem of price for the common people was minimised by the use of cheap wooden blocks and cheap paper for printing. They were printed using small wooden blocks, cut rather primitively by anonymous woodcutters without artistic pretence. Many images were not particularly original. They were often made based on more expensive or elite images, paintings or engravings, but also on broadsides of other, very successful publishers. A single wooden block, usually cut from fruit tree wood (apple, pear, etc.), could produce 5,000 prints, but imported box tree wood was

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9 De Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent*, 13-6, and P. Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten van Brepols* (Turnhout, 1996), 24–30.

much more durable.[10] When a printer stopped publishing popular broadsides (printers were often also publishers at this time), he would just sell the stock of wooden blocks on to another printer. Printers continued using wooden blocks until they were completely worn out, suggesting that some of the broadsides from the 18th and 19th century were still produced from wooden blocks originating in the 17th century. A life of 150 to 200 years was not exceptional.[11]

The earliest prints often consisted of a single image, cut from a single large wooden block, but later they usually consisted of several small images, a series of small wooden blocks allowing twofold use: for broadsides as well as illustrations in chapbooks or small-sized almanacs. They were distributed in various ways, namely by pedlars and hawkers, smaller bookshops and stands on annual markets and fairgrounds. In earlier centuries, schools were also an important distribution channel. As stated above, schools used these broadsides to reward children, alongside complete picture books, reading books and certificates.

Publishing of cheap popular prints increased during the second half of the 17th century[12] and from the end of that century these broadsides increasingly and explicitly targeted children. This development could be seen as a marketing strategy, driven more by supply than by demand.[13]

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[10] Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten*, 31: her conclusions are based on the records of Brepols, a printer and publisher of popular prints from 1796 to the end of the 19th century. See also E. van Heurck & G.J. Boekenoogen, *Histoire de l'imagerie populaire Flamande et de ses rapports avec imageries étrangères* (Brussels, 1910), 5.

[11] De Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent*, 16.

[12] See N. Boerma, 'Het ontstaan van de Nederlandse kinderprent', *De Boekenwereld*, 27.4 (2011), 206–14. Boerma mentions some booksellers and publishers who were active during the second half of the 17th century (206–7).

[13] Angela Vanhaelen, unfolding her 'theatre-audience assumption' in her dissertation, refers to the need of 'a distinctly lower-class audience' (Vanhaelen, *Comic print and theatre*, 4). Nico Boerma refers to childrens' 'behoefte aan beeldmateriaal', i.e. need for visual material (Boerma, 'Nederlandse kinderprent', 207) and even to children's 'honger naar beeldmateriaal', i.e. hunger for visual material (Boerma, 'Nederlandse kinderprent', 208). Both authors explain the rise of these prints as primarily caused by needs of an 'audience of rudimentary readers' (poor consumers and/or children), i.e. they explain this development as a demand driven strategy. But several indicators point to a supply driven strategy caused by a surplus of production capacity. Our 'production capacity hypothesis' is based on a fair amount of recession-related economical facts. After an explosive growing printing market during the first half of the 17th century Holland was confronted with a recession and from the 1660s the market for art (paintings and prints) and expensive books collapsed: see among others M.J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse Kunstmarkt* (Utrecht, 1994). The market for prints became more competitive: see E. Kolfin, 'Amsterdam stad van prenten. Amsterdamse prentuitgevers in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam*, ed. E. Kolfin & J. van der Veen (Amsterdam, 2011), 25. So those in the print production chain (development, production, distribution) suffered and the lower segment of the market was

This early focus on young children was usually restricted to a few words in the heading. The image content remained often the same: horrific war scenes, disabled people subjected to mockery, beaten up women and erotic prints were not exceptional.

The heading of one such print, for instance, explains to the children that they have to fear evil. This print shows public corporal punishment, amongst others a tied-up female who is flagellated mercilessly for a petty theft.[14] Another print, depicting war scenes with the heading 'Look here, you bright youngsters', shows small children stabbed with bayonets by soldiers, and being hurled through the air.[15] A third example, a print devoted to the conjugal life of a recently married couple Urbanus and Isabel, depicts images, which do not speak to childhood experiences. A caption of one of the images reads: 'Urbanus, wild with lust oozing from his pores, wastes all his money on whores.' (See Figure 13.4.)[16]

We have to conclude that in the early centuries, teachers awarded younger children with broadsides depicting brothel visits, war and violence, public flagellation and other inappropriate scenes. These traditional prints (despite their often indelicate character) were extremely popular with both children and adults of virtually *every* walk of life, something that is confirmed by the numbers sold.[17] It is not surprising, however, that Enlightened Reformers advocating educational improvement around 1800 were not happy with these practices.

The Society for Common Benefit and its Educational Ambitions

In the Netherlands, during the second half of the 18th century, many societies were founded that occupied themselves with useful art and sciences

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seen as an opportunity to survive. Wood engravers, like Joan Stichter and Christoffel Van Sichem IV used journal announcements for assignments: see M.M. Kleerkooper & P. van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw* (The Hague, 1914–16), 723, 795. Printers used cheap 'Veluws' paper: see F. Laurentius, *Clement de Jonghe, ca. 1624–1677* (Houten, 2010), 56 and 117. Announcements for prints showed up more and more: see Kolfin, 'Amsterdam stad van prenten', 44. Publishers turned to less expensive products: see G. Verhoeven & S. Van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius* (Haarlem, 2011), 15. And the total number of booksellers (dealing books and/or prints) decreased between 1662 and 1723 by more than 25% (see the introduction to the present volume).

[14] De Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent*, 191.

[15] Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens,* 53.

[16] This print was very popular. Several publishers offered copies with slightly different images and captions. See Thijssen, *Leerzaame prentjens*, 37, 86–7.

[17] Publisher Brepols sold 400,000 prints a year (Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten*, 5) and sometimes one million prints a year (Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten*, 30). Around 1850 publisher Schuitemaker sold 1,000,000 prints in three months. See J. Schuitemaker, *Groot en Goed* (Purmerend, 1853), epilogue.

Urbaan door geile lust gekweld,
Verkwist by Hoeren al zyn geld.

Figure 13.4. Urbanus visiting a brothel: image from a traditional print, publ. Wendel number 4. Woodcut, artist unknown. Private Collection.

and a multitude of social problems. These organisations generally included wealthy members of the upper and upper-middle classes, who participated in educational meetings for and by society members and in the organisation of social and scientific solution contests.[18]

The Society for Common Benefit, founded in 1784, is, in one way, an exception to this general character, because it also focused on the realisation of educational activities for non-members, in particular the lower

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[18] D.P.P. De Quay, *De genoegzaamheid van het natuurlijk gezond verstand* (The Hague, 2000); W.W. Mijnhardt, 'Het Nederlandse genootschap in de achttiende en vroege negentiende eeuw', in *De Negentiende Eeuw*, vol. 7 (1983), 76–102; W.W. Mijnhardt & J.J. Kloek, *Dutch culture in a European perspective. 1800: Blueprints for a national community* (London & Assen, 2005); C.B.F. Singeling, 'De gezellige dichter. Over literaire genootschappen in de achttiende eeuw', *Literatuur: Tijdschrift over Nederlandse letterkunde*, 3.2 (1986), 93–100; C.B.F. Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers Aspecten van letterkundige genootschappelijkheid in Nederland, 1750–1800* (Utrecht, 1991).

classes.[19] Shortly after its foundation, Amsterdam became the administrative centre of this fast-growing organisation with many local branches launching a series of ambitious educational activities. These activities focused not on education in a narrower sense, not just on school education. The SCB was aiming at popular education in a wider sense. It achieved a great deal, including among other things the establishment of libraries, reading circles, savings banks, pension insurances and of course schools: ranging from kindergartens to primary education to teacher training colleges and art schools. In addition, it provided a wide range of suitable educational appliances.[20]

The SCB went ahead energetically: it started many activities from the first decade of its existence. Right from the start it tried to improve the knowledge and virtues of the common people and contribute towards a well-educated and exemplary working class. The SCB's main aim was to produce useful members of society, which, as far as it was concerned, also implied a certain religious and national colouring. Religious education had to have a more general moral character and was certainly not to be of a 'dogmatic' nature. The belief in a national identity had its roots in the notion that every country had its own special morals and national characteristics: national-historic knowledge, as well as an insight into the differences between the Dutch and other nations was required.[21]

Publications promoted by the SCB reveal not only a strong emphasis on educational themes related to vocation and citizenship, but also an evident preference for encyclopaedic general knowledge based on scientific models. Fairytales and other fantasy stories, no matter how much children loved them, did not fit into the SCB's normative framework.[22] However, and perhaps anomalously, according to the enlightened ideas, it promoted fables very much because of the animals' exemplary roles, including the lessons of life they could learn from them.[23]

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[19] See Mijnhardt & Kloek, *Dutch Culture*, 236–40.
[20] L.C.I. Bigot, 'Het Nut en het onderwijs', in *1784–1934: Gedenkboek Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Leiden, 1934), 86–90; P.N. Helsloot, 'De oprichting en de eerste daden: 1784–1795', in W.W. Mijnhardt & A.J. Wichers, eds., *Om het algemeen volksgeluk* (Edam, 1984), 7–33.
[21] Mijnhardt & Kloek, *Dutch Culture*, 191–201.
[22] J. Wigeri, 'Over de zedelijke opvoeding der kinderen', in *Prijsverhandelingen der Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen, deel 1* (Amsterdam, 1789), 120–35.
[23] S. Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago & London, 2009), 104–10, and W. Wangerin, 'Die Kinderliteratur der Auklärungszeit', in E. Mittler & W. Wangerin, eds., *Nützliches Vergnügen* (Göttingen, 2004), 11.

The SCB was not alone in its ideas regarding improvement of popular education. Other Dutch societies also emphasised that popular education deserved more attention and improvement: however, the SCB was the only one to realise that it had to develop activities in this area itself while the State failed to live up to the task.[24] The goal to improve popular education followed the pedagogical optimism of Enlightenment philosophy (see Figure 13.5).

The starting point was that education can lead to better and more sensible and civilised human beings. Enlightenment pedagogues also agreed, despite considerable mutual disagreement on other topics, that adults and children had to be approached differently. The prime issue being that children should no longer be viewed as pocket-sized adults.[25]

The SCB's Meddling with School Prints

The SCB's annoyance about the traditional broadsides was the immediate cause for drawing up a plan aimed at producing pedagogically acceptable school prints. A member of the Utrecht SCB branch, Dr. Pieter Boddaert senior, made a corresponding proposal within his own branch. The Utrecht branch put the proposal forward during the SCB's annual meeting in 1791. The core of the proposal was to replace the traditional, insignificant broadsides awarded at schools, and produce and distribute new, educational prints instead. As a result of a surviving manuscript, in which Dr. Boddaert outlines his ideas, we have a fairly detailed picture of what he had in mind.[26] In this manuscript he stated that he did not think that traditional broadsides were educationally acceptable, certainly not for young children who, because of their weak brains, were extremely susceptible to cruel and immoral pictures. The negative feeling about traditional broadsides and children's prints varied in proportion to their degree of inappropriateness or offensiveness. However, not only the most offensive, i.e. immoral prints with erotic or violent scenes, had to make way. The same also applied to traditional prints belonging to a less dubious category,

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[24] N.L. Dodde, *Het Nederlandse onderwijs verandert: ontwikkelingen sinds 1800* (Muiderberg, 1983).

[25] See, amongst others, P.Th.F.M. Boekholt, 'Eenheid en verscheidenheid in het onderwijs 1795–1860', in P.Th.F.M. Boekholt & E.P. de Booy, eds., *Geschiedenis van de School in Nederland* (Assen, 1987), 89–145.

[26] See the full text of Boddaert in Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 55.
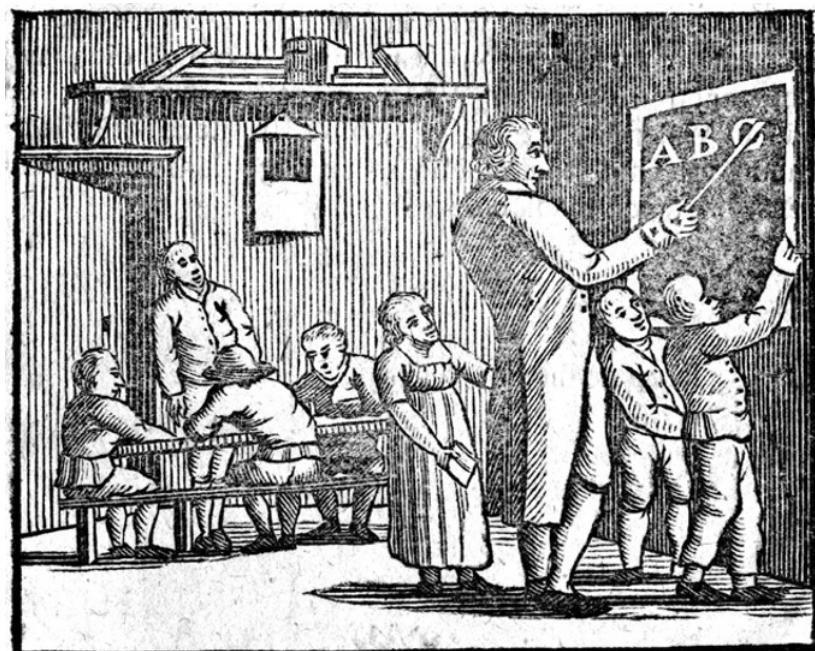
Zoo ooit verlichting veld zal winnen,
Gepaart met zeed'lijkheid en deugd,
't Moet in de Scholen 't eerst beginnen,
Door beter onderwijs aan de onervaren Jeugd.

Figure 13.5. Classroom with the Enlightenment Philosophy of the SCB. Woodcut, artist unknown. Private Collection. The caption reads:

> *If ever Enlightenment will gain ground,*
> *coupled with morality and virtue,*
> *it has to start in schools first*
> *by better education for the inexperienced youth.*

prints that were 'neither harmful nor useful', such as prints depicting insignificant genre scenes.[27]

As planned, the new school prints had to be decent and appropriate in various aspects:

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[27] Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 52–5.

- with regard to manufacture, i.e. decent and carefully produced woodcuts;
- with regard to their subject, i.e. decent and useful images;
- with regard to captions, i.e. decent and nice texts.

The proposal was accepted. A special school print committee was set up to realise the plan. They had determined the broad outlines of the themes to be shown in the school prints in advance. Deemed the most important educational subjects were:

- virtuous behaviour, e.g. diligent behaviour at school, helping the poor;
- national-historic subjects, e.g. heroics from the Golden Century;
- encyclopaedic knowledge, in particular with regard to animal species, coins, etc.

Nevertheless, it was not at all easy to make a concrete choice in respect of the print themes. The school print committee held intense meetings about each print subject and object drawn. The committee's work encountered various practical problems: committee members who died or were absent through illness; disagreement about the images to be included; rejected concept drawings, etc. In 1795, being unsuccessful, the school print committee decided to return the assignment recommending that the national administrative centre leave publication of useful school prints to the free market.[28]

However, the free market did not operate in the way they had hoped: commercial publishers did not produce the envisaged school prints and, in 1797, a second school print committee was set up. This committee was given a wide assignment. It was to approach artists, woodcutters and publishers to achieve a production and distribution of school prints meeting the high SCB demands. These school prints were not just to be awarded to pupils for their achievements but were also meant for educational purposes at schools. The committee secured the engagement of the best Dutch wood engraver of the time, Jan Oortman, and the cooperation of an experienced publisher of children's prints, J. Bouwer and Wed. J. Ratelband for their printing, publishing and distribution. They were to use high-quality wood and paper. The quality demanded influenced the production price but the SCB wanted to keep the prices of its school prints at the same level as those of traditional broadsides. It actually implies that the SCB had to subsidise its school prints, which had an impact on the

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[28] K. Hazelzet, *Prenten tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Bilthoven, 1995), 3.

contributions of its members. Protests related to this resulted in the com-
mittee having to lower its ambitions with regard to the envisaged produc-
tion speed.[29] Some test prints were ready fairly quickly but it took until the
national annual meeting in August 1800 before the school print committee
could announce that the first school prints would come on the market.

This series, totalling 30 prints, was published between 1800 and 1820,
and numbered A–Z in the top right hand corner, in the order they
were published (the letter J was omitted), and thereafter by double letters
AA–EE.[30] The bottom margin displayed the publisher's name: Bouwer and
Wed. Ratelband (succession turned this into Bouwer and later into Le
Jolle). When this family-run company ceased to exist, the publishing rights
passed to Van Munster, a publisher who also published many educational
books on behalf of the SCB. In 1820, they sent post parcels containing cop-
ies of the last print in this series, school print number EE, and an enclosed
letter, to the SCB-branches requesting them to distribute these among
their members.

They agreed that each member would receive a free copy: a consider-
able expense for the publisher, because in 1800 there were about 4,000
members and in 1810 their number had increased to 8,000, after which
growth continued to increase but at a more gradual pace.[31] The intention
was that SCB members, having read their prints, would hand them over as
second-hand items to the common people in their immediate vicinity, for
instance, to their household staff.[32] However, this did not always happen,
judging by the immaculate serialised issues, some neatly bound, found
among inherited belongings.

Apart from this first distribution channel, there were also the usual free
market distribution channels through retailers. It is not clear whether this
free market distribution also involved pedlars and hawkers: we are not
aware of any concrete or even suggestive evidence. Our assumption is that
pedlars preferred traditional children's prints (also distributed by Bouwer

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[29] The 1798 annual report of the school print committee refers to the fact that the tar-
geted production speed of 12 prints a year was never reached. The agreements made with
the engraver and publisher are mentioned in *Reports of various committees, first part,* 9. See
Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, 211, no. 1131.

[30] See the images and texts of all these SCB prints in Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens,*
133–62.

[31] B. Kruithof, 'De deugdzame natie. Het burgerlijk beschavingsoffensief van de
Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen', in *Geschiedenis van Onderwijs en Opvoeding, III*, ed.
B. Kruithof, J. Noordman & P. De Rooy (Nijmegen, 1985), 371–85. The increasing numbers
are mentioned by Kruithof (28). Because of the high quality of the wood that was used the
SCB could produce enough copies for all their members with a single wooden block.

[32] Kruithof, 'De deugdzame natie', 373.

and Ratelband) because of the price. Pedlars were interested only in the cheapest prints.[33] On the open market SCB prints cost about 1.5 cents and more.[34] The prints were subsidised for customers belonging to the SCB target groups, i.e. members and schools.

A third distribution channel involved direct delivery by the publisher to the schools, the most important SCB target group, offering some discount on the recommended retail price: a schoolteacher could buy them for 0.8 cents.[35] From 1810 onwards, the Netherlands used a general booklist for primary education. Books and prints that the national government considered suitable were placed on this list. It included many SCB publications, also the above-mentioned SCB school print series.[36] It goes without saying that this boosted sales of SCB prints. There were no traditional broadsides on this list; however, this does not imply that their use at schools was stopped as a result. Primary schools in the countryside in particular, would take little interest in the obligatory booklist for decades to come.

The sale of SCB school prints was a great success, at modern popular schools but also beyond. Although it was educational use that caused the SCB to come up with a series of educational prints, the Society also promoted their use amongst children and adults outside school. Recent analysis of surviving printed material reveals that the publisher for some school prints even re-cut the wooden blocks four times, owing to wear and tear.[37]

Such success drew obvious attention in the publishing world. In 1807, during the SCB's national annual meeting, another publisher, Erven Weduwe Stichter, requested approval for starting a second series of school prints. Stichter published annual almanacs on behalf of the SCB depicting small educational images. Reuse of the wood blocks would allow reprinting of educational prints. Stichter, not lacking commercial insight, also asked for permission to add a 'small hallmark', indicating their educational value, to the prints published under SCB editorial supervision. His request

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[33] C. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987), 87–8.

[34] Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (1842), '*Lijst en prijzen der werken*'. Records Municipal Archive of Amsterdam, nr. 211.

[35] Schoolteachers could buy 24 prints for '4 stuivers', i.e. 0.8 cents per copy. See: *Algemeene Boekenlijst, ten dienste der Lagere Scholen in de Noordelijke Provincien van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1815), 93.

[36] See *Bijdragen ter bevordering van het Onderwijs en de Opvoeding voornamelijk met betrekking tot de Lagere Scholen in Holland* (Leiden, 1810), 191–282. Category F, pp. 254–66, starts with the SCB prints and their prices.

[37] Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 67–9.

was approved. With effect from 1808, all SCB prints, new prints and reprints of existing prints, were provided with a so-called Benefit Seal. The hallmark's design was based on medals awarded for magnanimous efforts, reading: 'EERPRYS DER MAATSCHAPPY TOT NUT VAN 'T ALGEMEEN', translated into English as 'PRIZE OF HONOUR OF THE SOCIETY FOR COMMON BENEFIT' (see Figure 13.6). From that time onwards, this Benefit Seal also appeared on the title pages of other SCB publications, such as textbooks and bundled annual reports.

Apart from the three already mentioned—direct supply to members, free market distribution, and supply to schools—there existed a fourth distribution channel for certain SCB prints: the market for illegally copied prints. In this case, the word illegal is not to be taken too literally, because copying was not illegal. Copying was common practice and considered a sign of success when competing publishers had imitation copies cut based on an existing image, sometimes mirrored. Copying of SCB prints was rife. Almost 50% of all SCB prints from the first school print series have been copied by other publishers, publishers who added these SCB copies to their traditional series of prints. The most copied print was print number F, displaying the practical use of mechanical tools in daily life, with instructions on how to use a pulley, a press, a wheelbarrow etc. The reason is clear: mechanical engineering was a new subject for print series and many customers were interested in it. At least five publishers offered a

Figure 13.6. SCB-seal: Hall-mark for educational quality of the prints published under SCB supervision. Woodcut, artist unknown. Private Collection.

convincing imitation of this print. These imitations were cheaper than the SCB prints, and were offered for free market distribution. So it is clear which supplier pedlars and hawkers would choose, if interested in these subjects. See Figure 13.7 (SCB print with mechanical tools) and Figure 13.8 (a copied print).

During the 1830s, distribution of the first school print series was abruptly ended. With effect from 1820 only reprints were published, and as a result the alertness of the school print committee may have diminished. By 1830 the quality of the woodblocks used had in many cases deteriorated, in some cases rapidly: the SCB's administrative board put an end to this print series in 1832. Although the administrative board was trying to introduce a new series under its direct supervision, a series that was to include some newly cut bestsellers from the first print series, the momentum slowed down quickly. The new series did not go beyond four prints, two with new subjects and two with imitations of extremely successful prints of the first series. The administrative board was obviously occupied with other priorities. Meanwhile, the second SCB series had also come to an end. In the
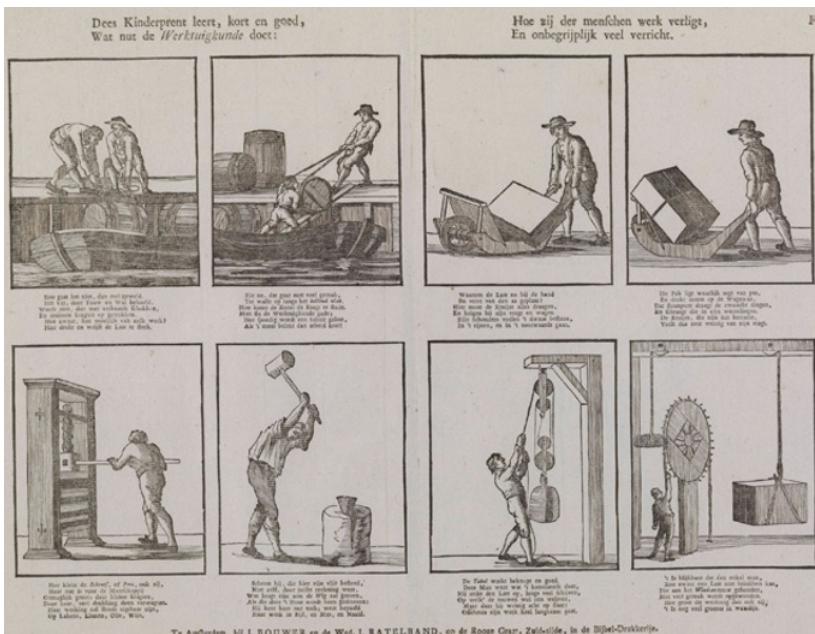
Figure 13.7. Print with mechanical tools: original SCB-print (publ. Bouwer number F). Woodcut by J. Oortman. Private Collection.
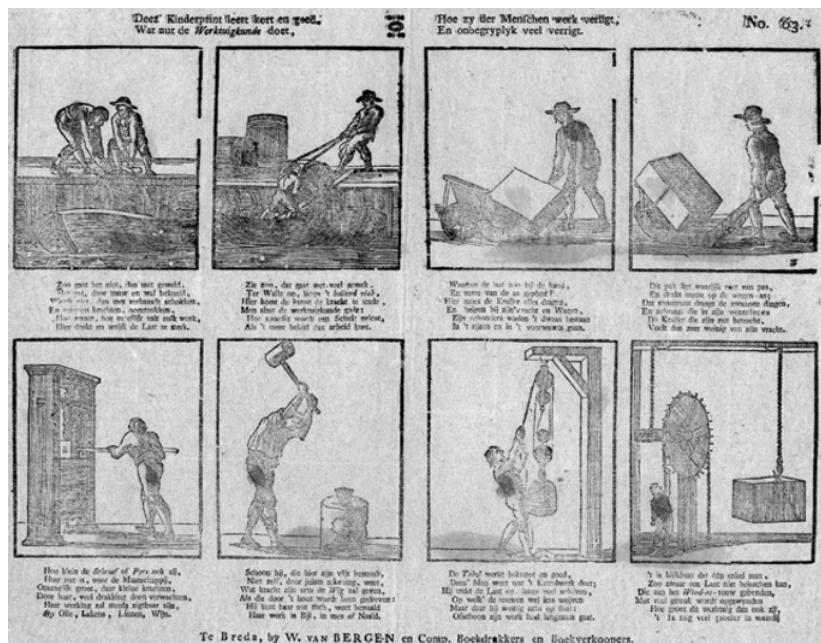
Figure 13.8. Print with mechanical tools: imitation of SCB-print (publ. Van Bergen number 63). Woodcut, artist unknown. Private Collection.

middle of the 19th century, a third SCB print series was to be developed.[38] However, the two SCB print series which started later fall outside the scope of this chapter.

The Significance of the First School Print Series

The publication of the first SCB school prints at the beginning of the 19th century heralded a surprising break with the then-popular broadsides and children's prints. This was mainly brought about by the fact that publishers were supervised by the SCB; at least as far as school prints were concerned. In addition, publishers were selling their own broadsides on a commercial basis, putting numbers in the top right hand corner rather than letters to show the difference. Moreover, the first school prints could be identified by the Benefit Seal, a hallmark of quality. However, SCB

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[38] Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 70–87 (second SCB-series) and 88–109 (third SCB-series).

prints also stood out on account of their content. The SCB wanted educational prints. The understanding of what was or was not educational, was mainly determined by subject matter. At the beginning of the 19th century, for ordinary traditional broadsides, this included, apart from allegorical, satirical and ironic subjects, all sorts of pictorials (fairytales and other fantasy stories), which were used as common print themes. The SCB, in accord with its knowledge- and virtue-focused educational goals, placed a different emphasis. An analysis of themes depicted on SCB prints produces the unsurprising conclusion that they focused mainly on didactic or documentary subjects. These subjects tended to emphasise encyclopaedic knowledge (about animals, coins, ships, nations) and useful social occupations (professional jobs, the use of tools, virtues/vices, and appropriate children's games). Following publication of the first prints, more attention was also paid to religious subjects of a general Christian nature (e.g. parables from the bible) and national-historic subjects (important national events and heroes), subjects that were viewed as important to educate citizens and turning them into virtuous people with Christian morals and patriotism.

The SCB was responsible for the designs for the wooden blocks used for printing the school prints and these designs ended up in the waste paper bin regularly. High standards of xylography were also applied. The result was that those SCB prints, certainly when compared to traditional broadsides, were immaculate, also from a technical point of view. Moreover, SCB prints showed fairly accurate images. For instance, SCB prints included various animal images, which were usually good likenesses. It would seem obvious, however, that around 1800 there were quite a few traditional broadsides circulating to which this did not apply; for instance, the image of a salmon would look more like a flat-fish, or a swan would resemble a goose.[39] The print size was comparable, but the larger image size facilitated more natural details. As opposed to what was common (20 or more images per broadside), SCB prints would usually have 8 to 12 images on a sheet of 32 × 42 cm (approximately A3 size) allowing for relevant details to be worked out in an educationally acceptable manner.

School print awards, presented to children, were rather large for child's hands. Broadsides or school prints were not expensive and, because of their large format, could often be folded up and kept in wooden school satchel, a small box on the wall with a sliding lid accommodating the

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[39] Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 83.

pupil's personal belongings. However, for school educational purposes a broadsheet was rather small and certainly had its limitations. It may be assumed that, certainly initially, SCB prints were being used as a reward rather than for educational purposes. However, over the years their educational use increased. After a few decades, it had become an 'accepted custom' of which publishers made clever use, also outside the SCB, by publishing school prints with titles referring to school subjects such as Biblical History, National History, Natural History and Geography.[40]

Societies with activities comparable to the SCB's are unknown in other countries, but around 1800, the use of educational prints had become an ever-growing international phenomenon which, on account of the 'Anschauungsunterricht' or 'Education by observation'[41] adopted by educational reformers such as Basedow and Pestalozzi (a broad concept giving observation credit as a goal and means of education), gained ground.

Appreciation of school prints on account of the prints published under supervision of the SCB and by later successors varies considerably, depending on perspective. From a pedagogical and instructional perspective, it is an extremely positive appreciation of innovation aimed at getting rid of inappropriate traditional broadsides. The first SCB print series matched the modern educational ideas rising at the time. Additionally, these prints were a pedagogically acceptable educational means, viewed from the then innovative concept of 'education by observation', although the school print's size, the well-known broadsheet format, limited classroom teaching.[42] Actually, school prints were the small forerunners of the wall charts, which were published during the second half of the 19th century.

Contrary to claims made by some cultural historians, these SCB prints were obviously attractive enough to be imitated and included in commercial series. A prejudiced perspective might have contributed towards these negative judgements. From a cultural-historical viewpoint the SCB print series are considered a prelude to future regrettable developments: in particular, some ethnological experts regretted the transition to a print

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[40] M. Rietveld-van Wingerden, *Jeugdtijdschriften in Nederland en Vlaanderen: 1757–1942* (Leiden, 1995), 47; De Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent,* 105–6.

[41] See Bernhauser, *Wandbilder in Anschauungsunterricht*, 13–47. Also J.G.L. Thijssen, 'Carl Wilke und seine Bildertafeln. Die ersten Schulwandbildern für den Anschauungsunterricht in deutschen Volksschulen', in W. Brückner, K. Vanja, D. Lorenz, A. Milano & S. Nagy, eds., *Tagungsband Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier, Band 15* (Münster, 2011), 104–30.

[42] E. Ludowici, 'O Bilderbogen!', in K. Siefert, ed., *Heilige, Herrscher, Hampelmänner* (Stuttgart, 1999), 135–92, esp. 135–7; Thijssen, *Leerzame prentjens*, 120–2.

tradition lacking the charm of primitive popular graphics, to prints miss-
ing the popular humour.[43]

Conclusions

It can be concluded that several aspects are characteristic of the series of
SCB prints discussed. First, the way in which they came about is unique.
Other countries did not have societies with activities comparable to the
SCB's. Displeased with traditional broadsides, SCB started looking for an
alternative, which better suited their educational ambitions. The second
aspect refers to the production of these school prints and as such to actual
print characteristics. From a technical and educational point of view they
are decent quality prints. In terms of form and content, these prints suited
a popular education explicitly focused on knowledge and virtues. All
aspects of school print production were subject to stringent supervision in
order to meet the demands of quality. Contrast with the production of
traditional broadsides was evident.

   A third and very important aspect involves distribution. Several distri-
bution channels were used. Firstly, SCB used the usual free market
distribution through retailers. It is not certain whether this free
market distribution also involved pedlars or hawkers. Pedlars and hawk-
ers were only interested in the cheapest prints, and the free market prices
of the SCB prints were relatively high. SCB subsidised their prints, but that
was a privilege for the SCB target groups. Apart from distribution on the
free market, there was controlled distribution to SCB members. As soon as
a new print was published every member received a free copy. The pub-
lisher sent the new prints to the national SCB administrative centre, the
centre arranged the shipping to the boards of their local branches, and
these boards distributed the new prints, targeting their members. These
SCB members were expected, after they had used them themselves, to
hand these copies to lower-class people, so they in turn could learn from
them. Besides these distribution channels, there was also direct distribu-
tion to schools, the most important SCB target group, offering some
discount on the standard retail price. From 1810 this method of non-
commercial distribution to schools was 'encouraged' by the authorities,
because the SCB prints were included in the so-called national booklist for
primary schools.

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[43] De Meyer, *De volks- en kinderprent*, 44–6; Vansummeren, *Kinderprenten*, 169–170.

Finally, a comment on the historical significance of these SCB prints. The value attributed to this print series depends largely on perspective. Judgement of educational and ethnological experts differ substantially.[44] From a pedagogical and educational perspective, these SCB prints are given a much higher positive significance than from a cultural-historical and ethnological perspective. Not only did SCB school prints influence popular education, they also influenced the publication of broadsides more generally. The fact that other publishers copied SCB prints and published them under their name can be seen as a sign of SCB's success, but also as the prelude to a mixture of traditional and educational print issues. During the course of the 19th century, commercial publishers produced more and more 'decent prints' with an educational message. However, it would be an exaggeration to attribute this development solely to the SCB. During the course of the 19th century, not only in the Netherlands but also in the surrounding countries, there emerged a 'culture of decency' which had a significant influence on children's books and children's prints: the SCB print series is best considered an early herald of this culture. The most common SCB distribution channel, the distribution through schools, has accelerated this cultural change in the Netherlands, and this is further evidence for the importance of dissemination.

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[44] J.G.L. Thijssen, 'Ze missen het sappige en het fleurige. De educatieve gerichtheid van Nutsprenten als vermeende belemmering voor hun populariteit', *Quotidian: Dutch Journal for the Study of Everyday Life*, 1 (2009), 84–102.

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COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS

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